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VOL. XVIII., No. 2

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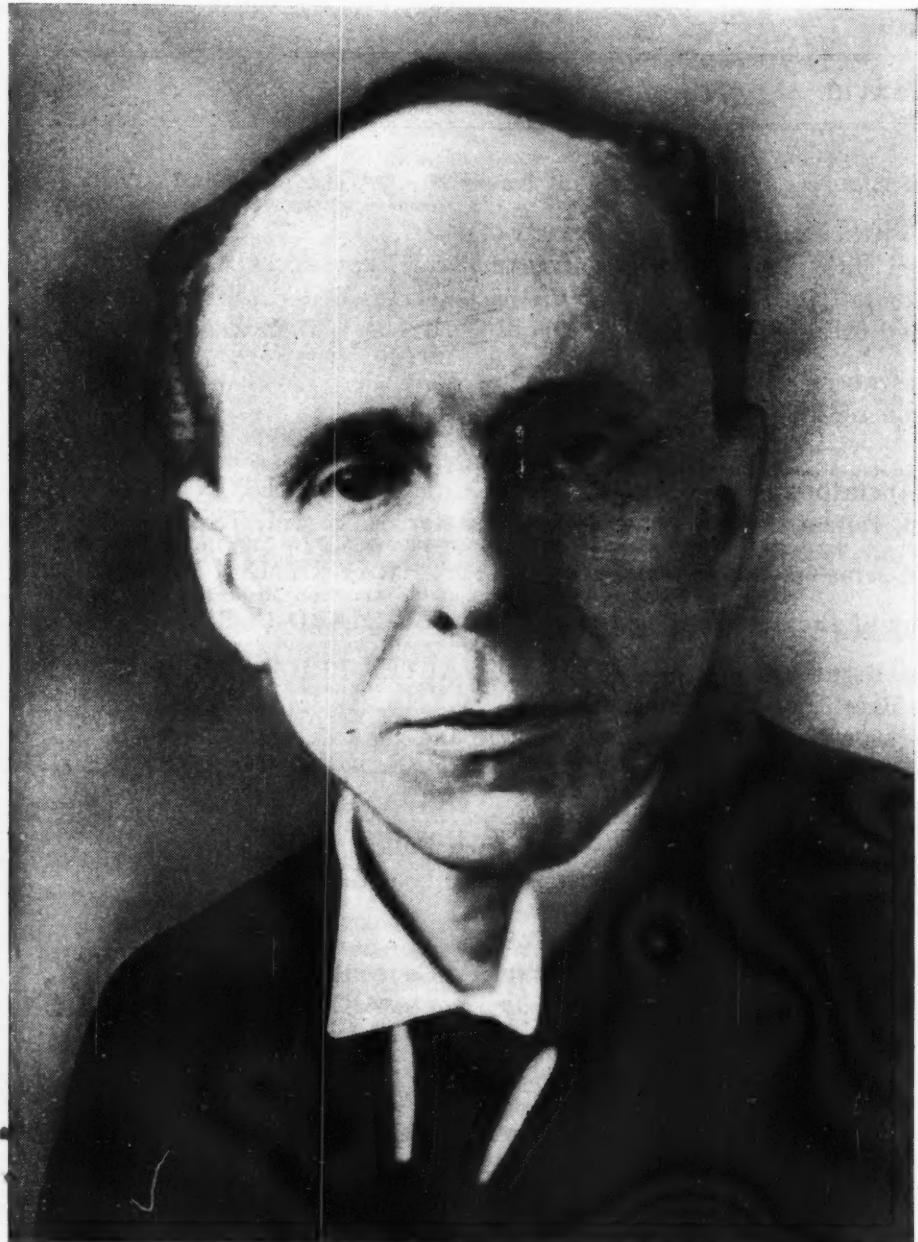
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THE RIGHT HON. LORD ROBERT CECIL



A leading British upholder of the League of Nations, he has caused considerable controversy by his visit to the United States for the purpose of explaining why this country should no longer stand aloof from the League. A son of the third Marquis of Salisbury, to whom he was Private Secretary (1886-88), he was first elected to the House of Commons in 1906, and has since been Parliamentary Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs (1915-16), Assistant Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (1918) and Minister of Blockade (1916-18)

LATIN-AMERICA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By AGUSTIN EDWARDS

Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Chile to Great Britain; former Premier and Foreign Minister of Chile; President of the League of Nations

The effect of Latin-American membership in the League of Nations—Pan-American union strengthened by co-operation in League's activities—No danger of European commitments—Europe as Latin-America's natural trade market—Investment and development North America's opportunity—Monroe Doctrine confirmed by League

THE fifth international conference of American States opened in Santiago, Chile, on March 25. The nations of the American Continent are thus again assembled in one of the periodical conferences which have been continuous since 1889, when the first of these international meetings took place in Washington. This fifth assembly is particularly momentous because, since the last Pan-American conference, held in Buenos Aires in 1910, world events have led to the deepest and most sweeping evolution that has ever taken place in the annals of human organization, and changed the position of the Latin-American nations, both as a whole and individually.

That evolution is embodied in the League of Nations created at the close of the World War and directly due to that gigantic conflict. Though originated in the United States for reasons which it is not appropriate to discuss now, the League was deprived of that country's assistance and support. Other nations of the American Continent joined the League, following the same trend of political thought that engendered the idea of a League of Nations in the United States. These other American nations remained in the League

and continued to give it their unqualified support in its present form. I say "in its present form" because I am among those who believe that the League of Nations of today, after three years of existence, is somewhat different from the League of Nations conceived in 1919 and so vaguely defined in a covenant which lends itself to various and most elastic interpretations.

LATIN-AMERICAN UNITY WELDED BY LEAGUE

The League of Nations of today, to which many Latin-American nations belong, has molded its organisms into definite outlines, banishing all intrusions of a political nature and yet offering its advantages to all peoples who have entered into the state of mind that makes the principles of the League a reality. It does not and can not affect the solidarity of the Pan-American Union. On the contrary, it seems, when one has taken part in the Assembly of the League of Nations, it has tended, if anything, to consolidate that union. The American nations belonging to the League act and vote together in the Assembly, thus proving to the rest of the world their solidarity. No European question of a political nature brings them into

the turmoil of European politics, and no momentous question of a juridical, scientific or humanitarian character finds them in opposite camps. No election of honorific or administrative officials divides American votes in the Assembly; they all act as one body. It is no exaggeration, therefore, to say that the League of Nations has been a sort of reagent to show the outlines of Pan-American solidarity.

It is true that a few American nations, and most important of all, the United States, do not belong to the League. I believe, however, that the present situation is only a passing phase of a big world movement tending toward co-operation as the most efficient means of promoting the progress of the world and the welfare of humanity. The natural tendency of man is to assemble, and the history of the world proves it. If that tendency were not innate we would have no cities and men would continue to live in the wilds. The very existence of alliances is an undesirable but conclusive proof of that tendency in those parts of the world where nations have been formed in an armed struggle for life and predominance. It has taken a more desirable shape and constitutes a not less conclusive proof of its inevitability in the Pan American Union. I do not think we can stop where we are. Humanity never stops.

The European members of the League of Nations, acting, perhaps, without realizing it, and prompted by that natural tendency to unite, have been steadily defining the scope of the League so as to make it more and more adaptable to the natural, geographical and political divisions of the civilized nations of the world. In Article 21 of the Covenant we find the essential elements of that division, and in practice the three years' work of the League shows that nothing can happen within the League to drag the American nations into European entanglements. The "super-State" danger has been finally and radically extirpated. It may have been the dream of many who were panic-stricken by the horrible consequences of a conspiracy of a group of armed powers to dominate the world. After that exaggeration, brought about by first impressions, which are not



Underwood

AGUSTIN EDWARDS
President of the League of Nations

the most discreet guidance for statesmen, the nations which form the League entered into a more sober frame of mind, and even the most ardent supporters of the movement now realize that the political power of the League is bound to be occasional, that it will be exercised for specific purposes, and will be derived from the very nations involved in a difficulty and desirous of creating such power to solve it.

Those American nations that are in the League do not therefore fear any political commitments outside those that they themselves specifically wish to undertake, and it seems to me that this is sufficient to prove that their adhesion to the League does not in any way affect the solidarity

of the Pan-American Union. On the contrary, they are there in the League as the vanguard of the American continent, responding to a movement which is American in its origin and American in its nature.

EUROPE'S ECONOMIC ASCENDANCY.

Both in Europe and in the United States there has been much confusion regarding inter-American economic relations and the economic intercourse between Latin-American and European countries. Many European nations believe that the natural political bonds which unite all American nations are a kind of Chinese Wall to make the whole continent, from Alaska to Cape Horn, one economic unit. In the United States, on the other hand, the idea is quite prevalent of a tendency in the Latin-American countries to seek, even at a sacrifice, European trade as a sort of counterbalance to the supposed American absorption of their economic activities. This belief has been strengthened by Latin-American adherence to the League of Nations.

Both ideas are mistaken. The Latin-American countries, in general, never have been, nor wish ever to be, a field of expansion for any other peoples, whether of the Western or of the Eastern world. They are proud and conscious of their own standing in the concert of civilized peoples, and though quite open to all legitimate and honest enterprises from wherever they may come, they resent being looked upon as instruments to provide wealth for the development and growth of penetrating countries. They wish the activities of those who come to these countries to serve their own development and growth. They are immensely rich in natural resources and they wish to participate in the great work of making life more easy and pleasant in every corner of the world, but they certainly do not feel that they ought to be used to make life pleasant and easy in other parts of the world at their own expense. They are in this sense profoundly democratic, and they have a very clear conception of their own value and very great faith in their own future.

The Latin-American nations are bound to have a bigger trade with Europe than with the United States of America, not by virtue of any special tendency or sympathy, but owing to natural economic factors. In the present stage of their development Latin-American nations are primarily producers of raw materials and consumers of manufactured articles. The United States, as is well known, forms a self-contained country to a very large extent. Most of the raw materials it requires for its manufactures it gets within its own territory, or in Canada or Mexico. Furthermore, the United States is not a very large exporter of manufactured articles, and its home market grows at such a pace that it consumes the larger proportion of its ever increasing productive power. The case in Europe is quite the reverse. Most of the European countries have to import their raw materials and have a very large surplus of manufactured articles. They are therefore naturally prepared to trade with the Latin-American nations. They find in those countries most of the raw materials they require and a ready market for their manufactured goods. The two-sided aspects of international trade appear clearly defined in the case of the economic relations between Europe and Latin-American countries.

NORTH AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY

It is true that toward the end of the World War, and immediately afterward, the trade between the United States of America and the Latin-American countries greatly increased, but that was only a temporary phenomenon caused by the upsetting of all the natural currents of trade. The World War made Europe impotent either to produce manufactured articles or to consume raw materials, and when people say that Latin-American countries are now going back to European trade because United States trade proved to be undesirable, they show that they have failed to grasp the real cause of the change. United States trade is just as desirable as any other to Latin-American nations, but it is possible only to a limited extent, owing to natural economic factors. It seems to

me, however, that there is in Latin America now, more than ever, a very large field for American enterprise, but mainly along the line of investment and development. The United States has become a centre of surplus capital, and all that the Latin-American countries need to develop their natural resources is capital. Furthermore, Americans, to a much greater degree than Europeans, possess the spirit of enterprise and adventure, which is essential to the development of new countries. They have, besides, both the technical and the practical knowledge required for such developments, and in the natural trend of events we shall undoubtedly see American enterprise multiply and prosper in most of the Latin-American countries in the near future. More than by actual trade we shall see in the working of great American enterprises in Latin-American countries the linking up of the northern and southern sections of this continent of ours by their economic interests, and it is not hazardous to predict that in the course of the next few years American capital and enterprise will be helping Latin-American nations to produce for Europe and to sell to Europe more and more raw materials. I need hardly add that the more we sell to Europe the more profit will those American enterprises reap. At the same time, there is no question that the more we sell to Europe the more we shall buy from Europe.

MONROE DOCTRINE CONFIRMED BY LEAGUE

One of the aspects of the League of Nations which has been most discussed in both continents is to what extent this new world association affects the Monroe Doctrine. It has lent itself to endless discussion, in the first place, because hitherto there has been no clear definition of what the Monroe Doctrine is, and it has been interpreted in various ways at different times in every single country in the world. Article 21 of the League Covenant provides that nothing in the Covenant shall be deemed to affect regional understandings such as the Monroe Doctrine. It seems, therefore, that for the first time the whole

civilized world has given to the Monroe Doctrine a juridical status. Up to the moment when the Covenant was signed, the Monroe Doctrine had been extensively discussed; it had been hailed by some and feared by others, but it had not been recognized collectively. All the American nations that signed or adhered to the Covenant have appended their signature to this solemn recognition of the Monroe Doctrine, and the League of Nations has therefore confirmed it and placed it in relief.

Some day, when it is possible to give that doctrine a definition common to all the nations of this continent—and personally I believe this will not be difficult, for in practice the doctrine has resolved itself into what we call the Pan-American Union—Article 21 of the Covenant will have to be defined in its scope and interpreted in its meaning. That definition and interpretation will, I am sure, show conclusively that the League of Nations does not and can not affect the solidarity of the American nations—a solidarity that embraces the very soul and essence of what is called the Monroe Doctrine. On the contrary, it will show that the League of Nations is nothing but the extension to the whole world of what the new continent has practiced for nearly a century: the same idea, the same end, with the changes which are the outcome of the different traditions and the different construction of nationalities. It is my profound belief that some day we shall witness the birth of the ideal League of Nations; a League composed of all the civilized countries of the world, gathered together for the purpose of studying and solving, on parallel and autonomous lines, all questions of continental, regional or local interest, and converging to a single great juridical, political, scientific and humanitarian centre for all that affects the fundamental rights of humanity and the peace of the world, compromises the vital interests of civilization, the common patrimony of humanity, or threatens the universal destinies of all the peoples and all the races of the world.

THE FIFTH PAN-AMERICAN CONGRESS

Idealistic note sounded by President Alessandri in welcoming the delegations to the conference at the Chilean capital—Scope of Pan-American Union to be enlarged—Congress to be called to codify American international laws—Chile seeks to exclude the limitation of armaments from the agenda of the conference

THE fifth Pan-American Congress opened at Santiago, Chile, on March 25, 1923, under the Chairmanship of Señor Agustín Edwards, Chilean Ambassador to the Court of St. James's and President of the League of Nations. Señor Arturo Alessandri, President of Chile, in welcoming the delegates, emphasized the importance of this conference in the influence it would have on the relations between all Latin American and even North American nations. "Pan Americanism is more than an idea," he said, "it is an actual dynamic force, born from inevitable geographical, historical and political

causes." He sketched the growth of the Pan-American movement toward co-operation, from the days of Bolívar to the creation of the Pan-American Union, which he described as "a powerful aggregation defending the future of humanity." He eulogized the leadership of the United States in the Pan-American movement, declaring that the United States stood for the keeping of faith, and quoted the words of Elihu Root at the third Pan-American Conference, declaring that the United States sought no territory or sovereignty other than its own, and that it respected the rights of small nations as much as



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Plaza de Armas at Santiago, Chile, Showing the Cathedral



HENRY P. FLETCHER

United States Ambassador to Belgium and head of the United States Delegation to the Pan-American Conference

in friendship and good faith. At a banquet given the delegates by the Chilean President on March 27, Mr. Fletcher asked the delegates to consider the lesson of the World War, and Señor Izquierdo, Chilean Foreign Minister, spoke in a similar vein.

The conference on this date settled down to business, and appointed committees to deal with the special subjects of discussion. The following heads of committees were chosen: Political, General Augusto Montes de Oca, Argentina; Juridical, Afranio Mello Franco, Brazil; Hygiene, Dr. Aristides Argero, Cuba; Communications, Narciso Garay, Panama; Commerce, Dr. Amezaga, Uruguay; Agriculture, Guillermo Valencia, Colombia; Armaments, Henry P. Fletcher, United States; Education, Rafael Arizaga, Ecuador.

The full program of the conference was



SENATOR ATLEE POMERENE

of Ohio, member of the United States Delegation to the Pan-American Conference

those of large ones. Though Chile viewed with satisfaction its adherence to the League of Nations, he said, this did not exclude participation in Pan-American congresses, for they, too, made for co-operation, fraternity and solidarity of all the peoples concerned.

This idealistic note was stressed again at the second session on March 26, when the American Ambassador to Belgium, Henry P. Fletcher, head of the United States delegation, read a special message from Secretary Hughes, embodying a plea that the nations assembled in conference, as well as all others, set themselves forcibly to the task of removing every remnant of suspicion, distrust and hatred, and earnestly seek the cure for all their national ills

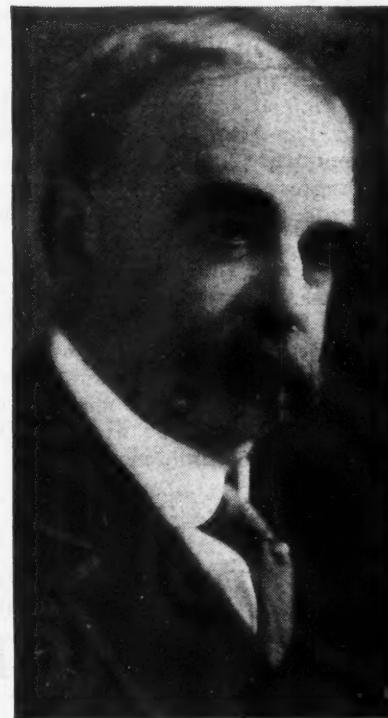
published in the February issue of this magazine. The political questions on the agenda were: (1) Organization of the Pan-American Union on the basis of a formal agreement; (2) consideration of measures tending toward a closer association of the republics of the American Continent; (3) consideration of means to give a wider application to the principle of arbitration in disputes between the American nations; (4) reduction and limitation of military and naval expenses on a just and practical basis.

The work of the committee continued to the end of March and into the first two weeks of April without any decisive progress being made on any of these larger problems. Dr. L. Rowe, head of the Pan-American Union, proposed at the session of April 4 to enlarge the scope of the union to permit the performance of any function conferred upon it by the



COLONEL WILLIAM E. FOWLER

Banker, lawyer and commercial expert, selected as a member of the United States Delegation to the Pan-American Conference



FORMER SENATOR WILLARD SALSBURY

of Delaware, one of the members of the United States Delegation to the Pan-American Conference

Governing Board or by subsequent Pan-American conferences. The Costa Rican delegation, at the session of April 9, created a sensation in the Political Committee by suggesting the abolishment of the condition making recognition of a Government by the United States a prerequisite of membership in the union. The proposal was postponed for later consideration. Dr. Rowe's proposal was approved at this session, and a resolution adopted for submission to the conference subsequently.

The question of legal arbitration was touched upon at the session of April 1, when Alejandro Alvarez, Chilean jurist, and member of one of the committees appointed by the Commission of Jurists in 1912 to study the codification of American

international law, laid before the conference a project of codification embodying and amplifying the principles of the Monroe Doctrine. At the session of April 9 the Costa Rican delegation proposed before the Judicial Committee the establishment of a Pan-American Court of Justice. The committee adopted Chile's proposal that a Congress be called at Rio de Janeiro in 1925 to settle the codification of American law.

The large and vital question of limitation of armaments was taking shape at the end of the first week in April, but hopes of a settlement received a check at the session of April 11, when Antonio Huneus, Secretary of the Chilean committee, proposed that the subject be excluded from the agenda of the conference, and be set-

tled by separate negotiations between the respective nations; that the Governments declare their desire for immutable peace and against armed peace; that they adhere to the Washington naval treaties, fixing the tonnage of capital ships and establishing immunity for neutral merchant ships from submarine attack, and adhere to the various international conventions tending to prevent and humanize war.

The Chilean report was accepted in principle by Brazil, but Argentina informed the committee that the report did not meet her views in all respects and indicated that she would have some observations to make at a later session.

The sessions of the conference were continuing at the time when these pages went to press.

UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARD LATIN-AMERICAN REPUBLICS

By THE EDITOR

Contradiction of charges that the present Administration at Washington bases recognition of Latin-American republics on the protection of financial interests, as set forth in articles recently published

IN the April issue of *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* appeared two articles referring to Latin-American republics. One of these, by Dr. Victor Andres Belaunde, an eminent Peruvian, a former Professor of the University of Lima, Peru, now resident in the United States, dealt with "Latin America's New Rulers, and the United States." Professor Belaunde traced and analyzed the different policies of the United States toward new Governments, with especial reference to Latin America, fixing four periods, that of the Jeffersonian doctrine, that of the Seward doctrine, that upheld by the Administration of ex-President Wilson and finally that followed by the present Administration.

The policy of Secretary Hughes in respect to recognition of Mexico is analyzed

at length in this article, which declares that the present Administration, unlike its predecessors, has not considered the question of stability or the character of the Latin American Governments, but only questions of debts and guarantees affecting the property of American citizens. This is especially stressed in respect to Mexico. The author says that the Government of Mexico rejected this condition, but that it pointed to the interpretation of Article 27 of the tribunals as proof that it would never be applied in a retroactive sense to confiscate American property. Dr. Belaunde further charges that the revolutionary Government of Guatemala was recognized by Secretary Hughes because its head, General Orellana, "was entirely favorable to the interests of the

American capitalists." With this action, the Peruvian critic brings into sharp contrast the policy in respect to Mexico.

The second of the two articles referred to was by Guillermo Perez. It dealt with the present Governments of Venezuela, Peru and Bolivia, under the title of "Three South American Despots." Its object, as the title implies, was to show that the rule of President Gomez of Venezuela, of President Leguia of Peru, and of President Saavedra of Bolivia was tyrannous and unrepresentative of the people. Señor Perez also bitterly criticised the alleged sanction by the Washington Government of loans and contracts entered into by these rulers with American banking houses and large corporate interests, declaring that these loans and contracts were not entered into by the consent of the respective peoples, and that they worked grave injury and injustice to all of these nations' most vital interests.

Both of these articles aroused considerable newspaper comment in the United States. The New York Call, for instance, in its issue of March 27, referred to the articles under the caption, "Aiding Bandits in Latin America," and discussed the views expressed as follows:

Two articles in the April number of *CURRENT HISTORY* throw considerable light on American diplomacy in its relation to Latin America. One writer shows the development of the American policy of recognition of revolutionary Governments, once based on the concept that the new Government may be recognized if it shows stability, is now a matter of Governments squaring with the interests of American capitalists and bankers.

The other, by a Latin-American diplomat, shows that American imperialism often finances and supports a military adventurer, who serves American capitalists and bankers. He states that "bankers and business men of the United States, apparently with the approval of the Secretary of State, are giving illicit support to some of these South American rulers, set up by an appeal to force and maintained in power against the will of the people. American gold placed in the hands of the dictators and tyrants of South America is the most efficient means that the United States can place in the hands of irresponsible and criminal men to stifle every impulse of democratic sentiment and to destroy, or at least to check, the growth of constitutional

progress." Recognition of new Governments in Latin America thus takes the form of supporting despots, who are often dirty tools of American exploiters. Obregon refuses to be such a tool, and to this day the Mexican Government is refused recognition by the United States. The end of this policy can only witness a collection of bandits ruling Latin America from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn. Let us give three hearty cheers for "American democracy."

The *Wall Street Journal* takes a different view in a brief comment herewith quoted:

An anonymous South American statesman contributes a virulent attack on the Executives of South American republics, President Gomez of Venezuela, President Leguia of Peru and President Saavedra of Bolivia, in the April number of *CURRENT HISTORY*. His denunciation is bitter and unsparing, and he appeals to the United States Secretary of State to declare null and void all contracts entered into between them and American interests. As such proceeding would release these countries from their obligations in respect to sundry bond issues held here, this appeal can scarcely be taken seriously.

The editor considered the matter of sufficient interest to justify a further investigation of these charges, in order to clarify the actual policy of the United States in respect to the Latin-American republics. He was authoritatively informed by a Washington official of high standing that the notion that the Mexican authorities had put forward "the interpretation of Article 27 of the Constitution formulated by the tribunals as proof that it would never be applied in a retroactive sense for the purpose of confiscating American property," as charged by Mr. Belaunde, is wholly erroneous; that there had been no formulation of any such principle by Mexican tribunals except upon a narrow point; and that, on the other hand, American properties had been confiscated under the application of these provisions of the Constitution, despite the explicit promise which General Carranza gave, upon the recognition of his Government, that these provisions would not be applied retroactively.

A fundamental principle governing international intercourse, it was pointed out, was here involved. The feeling of the

United States Government, it was emphasized, was one of entire friendliness, and it deeply regretted the necessity for the absence of diplomatic relations. It had no desire to interfere in the internal concerns of Mexico, or to suggest what laws she shall have relating to the future: Mexico must be the judge of her own domestic policy. One clear principle, however, must be maintained as fundamental to all international intercourse. It is an essential condition of international intercourse that international obligations shall be met, and that no policy of confiscation or repudiation shall be adopted. No special guarantee to American citizens against confiscation is insisted on, but the substance of such protection must be assured. The problem, it was stated, was a simple one, and one that Mexico could solve herself.

Regarding the charges made by Mr. Belaunde in connection with Guatemala, the editor was informed as follows: The statement implying a hasty recognition of the Orellana régime because it was allegedly favorable to American interests was made under a misapprehension. Recognition was not accorded to the Orellana Government for more than four months, and not until elections had been held. No question of repudiation or confiscation was involved. The statement regarding the favoring of American capitalists is without foundation, and apparently refers to a story published at about that time to the effect that this Government had insisted upon the acceptance by Guatemala, as a condition of recognition, of a certain American loan that had been under consideration. As a matter of fact, the editor was informed the department had disapproved the loan in question, and gave it no support, and it was defeated by the Guatemalan Assembly; the Orellana Government has to the present received no loan from the United States.

Regarding the article by Señor Perez, the editor is informed that it contains inaccuracies, especially the charge embodied in the following paragraph:

Bankers and business men of the United States, apparently with the approval of the

Secretary of State, are giving illicit support to some of these South American rulers, set up by an appeal to force and maintained in power against the will of the people. American gold placed in the hands of the dictators and tyrants of South America is the most fatally efficient means that the United States can place in the hands of irresponsible and criminal men to stifle every impulse of democratic sentiment, and to destroy, or at least to check, the growth of constitutional progress.

The editor's informants state that the application of this charge to Venezuela, the first of the three countries discussed by Señor Perez, is baseless, and that the Government of President Gomez has never received a loan from American bankers. As for Peru, the Government of President Leguía has had a small loan of \$2,500,000 made by the Guaranty Trust Company, but this was for the service of the internal and external debt of Peru. The larger loan has not been made, because an agreement regarding it has not been reached.

In respect to Bolivia, a loan of \$24,000,000 was made to it by the Equitable Trust Company in May, 1922, but this was mainly for consolidation purposes and for railroad construction. Washington, the editor is informed, has received no advices indicating that the proceeds of this loan have been used in any way other than that specified in the loan law and contracts. A recent interpellation in the Bolivian House of Representatives, asking why the Equitable Trust Company of New York, representing American subscribers, had protested non-payment of interest on this loan, was recorded in the March issue of *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*. The Secretary of the Interior explained this on the ground of a tangle in the public accounts. The editor is informed that an official loan commission is to be sent to the United States by the Bolivian Government, headed by Señor José Mendieta, an eminent Bolivian financier and ex-Minister, and including Señor Jorge Sarnez, now Director of the Banco de la Nacion of La Paz. The aim of this commission will be to obtain a revision of the loan or its annulment on the ground of illegality.

DESPOTS AS A POLITICAL NECESSITY IN LATIN AMERICA

By C. GRAND PIERRE*

Author of a "Handbook of West Coast Countries, Panama and the Canal, and the West Indies" and a number of other works on Latin America

Democratic government impossible in the Latin-American countries of today—Recognition of this by the United States in its Caribbean and Spanish-American policy—The benevolent despotisms of Venezuela, Peru, Bolivia and other South American Governments

OUR American political gospel is that democracy alone is and can be right. We emphatically condemn what seems to us despotism, wherever we see it, and especially in this hemisphere, ignoring the fact that the majority of the people of Latin-American countries are indifferent as to whether their Government is an autocracy or a republic. Many, indeed, prefer the former, because experience has taught them that the rule of a despot is better than that of politicians, and all they expect and all they care for is that the burden of taxes be light, that public officials be reasonably efficient and honest, and do not interfere in their private affairs.

To us that seems a long way from democracy, but if our ideals were to prevail, and if we were to impose institutions to our liking in several of the countries whose population is largely Indian, or part Indian, the inevitable result would be anarchy. If American intervention were to follow, it would be only in the form of a military dictatorship—a foreign instead of a native despotism.

Though, individually, we talk and preach democracy, the United States Government, better aware of the limitations of democratic institutions than its citizens, has not introduced these institutions in our overseas possessions. Under American rule, Porto Rico (unlike Cuba, that island was a province, an integral part of Spain, and not a colony) has had less autonomy, and her people less political and personal liberty than when they were Spanish.

In the Philippines, the American designated members of the Legislature have for years constituted the majority, and the Governor has still today absolute right of veto. In the Hawaiian Islands, the natives have practically no political rights. In Cuba, the National Congress has more than once, under American pressure, passed bills which the Cubans considered detrimental to the interests of their country, and on the last occasion, in 1923, it was done under a veiled threat of intervention. In the Republic of Panama, democracy is not allowed to count for anything at all, when it is inconvenient to those in control of commercial operations or charged with the protection of the canal.

American rule in Nicaragua, in Haiti and in the Dominican Republic, enforced by marines, cannot well be called democratic. Those who know Central American affairs have small difficulty in explaining the failure of the Central American Union of 1921, which the people wanted. According to the Central American press, the Central American Union, concluded in Washington this year, is far from being approved by the people of these countries, because it contains objectionable conditions imposed by the State Department.

In Porto Rico it was charged that ex-Governor Reily openly insulted, fined, sent to jail and even caused to be

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exiled those who believed in democracy enough to declare publicly that the Porto Ricans have a right to pursue life, liberty and happiness in their own way, and who opposed his forceful methods of Americanization.

Another form of transgression of democratic principles which is spreading fast—and the worst of them all—is the new version of "Dollar Diplomacy," the power of money over Governments and nations. The terms under which the State Department sanctions loans made to other countries of this hemisphere contain clauses which call for a partial surrender of those countries' sovereign rights, and which under certain contingencies would permit the United States Government to deprive the respective peoples of such democracy as they already possess.

The storm of indignation of practically the whole of Latin America against the terms of the last Bolivian loan has been so strong that had not the State Department immediately consented to their modification, the work of the Pan-American Conference at Santiago, Chile, would have been jeopardized and the position of the American delegates made untenable.

LATIN AMERICA NEEDS DESPOTS

It is clear that our own record in Latin-American countries is not above reproach. It is no exaggeration to say that much that has been done by our own Government, as well as by native rulers, in the Western Hemisphere has transgressed all principles of democratic justice. But that was unavoidable. Democracy in the majority of Latin-American countries is not yet possible, and if we look around a bit we may be surprised to discover that the best governed of them, those where the masses have enjoyed the largest measure of prosperity and individual liberty—though not of political privileges—are those ruled by a strong hand, by a "despot," or by a powerful group of men.

One of the most successful and beneficent Latin-American despots was Porfirio Diaz, but the biggest failure of democratic efforts in the Western Hemisphere was that of Madero. The Latin-American coun-

try which, compared with its size, has the most glorious history is, no doubt, Paraguay, first under the autocracy of the Jesuits, later under the despotism of Lopez senior and Lopez junior, and finally of Francia, "El Supremo," whose downfall marked the beginning of democratic institutions, but at the same time of two decades of revolutionary troubles, as well as the passing of Paraguay as one of the important South American countries.

Argentina is proud of the prosperous, progressive era of the Gaucho despot Rosas as much as that of such true democrats as Sarmiento and Bartholome Mitre. Even the Chileans, whose revolution prevented Balmaceda from ruling the country over the head of a corrupt Congress, are proud of him, and admit now that he was right *de facto*, if not *de jure*, and that it would have been better for the country if he had had his way.

Brazil never had a revolution under her Emperors, and she might still be an empire, nominally, had it not been for the reactionary tendencies of the heirs of Dom Pedro.

Even the rule of Zelaya, in Nicaragua, however objectionable it was to American interests, was one that showed remarkable growth and economic and educational progress, with which the present deplorable financial and economic condition of the country and the decline of both higher and popular education since democracy has been supposed to prevail under American guardianship contrast most sadly.

Guatemala has had two prosperous, comparatively peaceful eras under the "despots" Barrios and Estrada Cabrera, whose hard but successful rule was followed by a period of inefficiency and depression from which the country is slowly recovering under the firm rule of the soldier Orellana.

VENEZUELA A STRIKING EXAMPLE

Of all Latin-American countries, the one which, no doubt, is in the best economic position and the most economically governed is Venezuela. For fourteen years it was ruled without much pretense of constitutionality by Juan Vicente Gomez, whose policies may best be characterized

by his own words to the writer: "My aim has been to make my people the freest on earth. Let everybody mind his own business. My business is governing and, because only one Government is possible, I cannot tolerate any meddling with my own affairs. Any one minding his own business is freer in Venezuela than anywhere else on this continent, but any one 'butting in,' as you say in the United States, must suffer the consequences."

Yes, Venezuela has been governed undemocratically, but today, of all Latin-American countries whose population is largely Indian and mixed blood, it possesses the most highly developed industries and, of all mountainous countries, the best roads.

Not many years ago a European fleet threatened forcibly to collect interest on the Venezuelan public debt. Castro, fourteen years ago, left his country the most hopelessly debt-ridden in the Western Hemisphere. Today Venezuela is the only country on earth which has no national debt and no State debts whatever.* Gomez is the only Latin-American ruler who speaks of the United States as a "big brother," without that tinge of resentment which the use of the term arouses elsewhere. In every way, he favors American enterprises, and if today in Venezuela European interests are by far the most important, it is solely because Americans have insufficiently availed themselves of the good-will and the opportunities which awaited them here.

While in New York, before his election, Augusto B. Leguia, President of Peru, told the writer frankly that when he would be in power he would at once proceed to eliminate the perpetual obstructionists and professional political gangs which for generations have been the curse of his country. He has kept his word, and Peruvian politicians hate him for it.

DESPOUTISM" IN PERU

Of all countries whose population is so

largely Indian, Peru would be the ripest for democratic institutions were it not for politics. Politics among the educated classes have most of the time been unspeakably corrupt, and among the lower classes they have been considered mainly as diversions. There is nothing that Peruvians of the mountains like better than election time, with its high sounding proclamations, its intense patriotic speeches and their brass band accompaniment. The result of an election interested them but little. When it ended favorably to the Government, it stood, otherwise it was simply annulled.

These are conditions which cannot be overcome otherwise than by a strong but benevolent paternalism toward the people, but ruthless "despotism" over politicians whose efforts have been to perpetuate conditions from which they benefited. While Leguia is conducting a war of extermination against the small minority which for generations has been accustomed to earn a livelihood from politics, he is earnestly endeavoring to breed into the Peruvian masses a sense of self-consciousness and responsibility which they have not possessed thus far.

Leguia is opposed by politicians also because, recognizing that an efficient Administration is not possible without outside assistance, he has placed many important departments in charge of foreign experts. The navy and both commercial and naval aviation are directed by Americans; the army is under French instruction and leadership; the taxes are collected, and the nationally owned railroads operated by British companies; the schools are headed by men and women of various nationalities, and there are foreign experts in other departments.

A revolution in Peru, therefore, is impossible without killing foreigners, or at least breaking their contracts, and that would never do. Because of Leguia's methods, there are few really desirable "plums" for deserving politicians, and the significance of this may be grasped if we surmise what would happen if the President of the United States or the Governors of our States were to fill all offices with experts, without considering politics and politicians.

*A very small German loan has not yet matured. Venezuela for years tried to liquidate it before maturity. A financial mission is now in Germany endeavoring to persuade the Government of the Reich to accept payment.

BENEVOLENT TYRANNY IN BOLIVIA

The population of Bolivia is largely Indian—Quechua and Aymara and Cholo—people of mixed blood forming the artisan class in the cities. There is a small minority of whites of Spanish Colonial descent, and of cultured Indians of mixed blood whose good breeding and culture equal that of the whites. These form the ruling class.

We may think that a ruling class is all wrong, but in Bolivia we are confronted with the fact that, until recently, the lower strata of the population have manifested but little Bolivian patriotism and still less interest in national affairs, rarely calling themselves Bolivians, but Quechuas, Aymaraes, or Cholos. This is why for so long, until the last revolution headed by Saavedra, the power behind the throne, the actual master of the destinies of Bolivia, was Simon Patino, a half-Indian multi-millionaire mining king.

Because it was not constitutional at the start, the rule of the Triumvirate, and of Saavedra who succeeded it, was called despotic. Gradually, however, true democratic institutions, including representation of minorities, are being instituted, and in many ways efforts are made to stimulate interest in public affairs among the masses, so as to train them to take a larger part in government than has been the case thus far.

The writer wishes to emphasize very strongly that despotism, so-called, in Latin-American countries, has practically never been, as the name usually implies, oppression of the masses, much less lack of security of life and property among the people at large. Nor does it mean suppression of political privileges of people who do not care for such privileges anyway. None of the men characterized as despots has shown any disposition to stifle democratic aspirations; on the contrary, the efforts of some of them tend to breed into the mentality of the lower

classes a self-consciousness and an interest in public affairs which they generally lack.

NOT FORTUNE SEEKERS

Nor are these "despots" money grabbers. Rosas, in Argentina, lived simply and left no fortune. In a small way, the Paraguayan despots surrounded themselves with a kind of barbaric splendor, which, however, was far less costly than the luxurious life of the landed aristocracy of the River Plate. Huerta, of Mexico, was wealthy when he assumed power, but ended nearly in want. Barrios and Estrada Cabrera, of Guatemala, left only small estates. Zelaya, in Nicaragua, left \$40,000 to his widow. Gomez became wealthy showing his countrymen how to make his country one of the most promising cattle countries of this continent, and starting other industries of great promise. Even the Brazilian imperial family, although the Braganza family was very wealthy, when in exile, depended largely upon the liberality of the Bourbons, the family of the Comte d'Eu, son-in-law of Dom Pedro.

The masses in the Latin-American countries have rarely had any reason to be dissatisfied with their "despots" and nowhere have the people clamored for more constitutional forms of government. The malcontents, everywhere, are professional politicians, and their hangers-on, who have not been favored with political patronage. They are the "outs," who would like to be "in" and, unable to get in by the ballot, realizing that revolutions are not possible in countries where the masses are satisfied, freely use their only available weapon—vituperations against supposed tyrants, high-sounding speeches in the name of freedom, and passionate appeals to the American people in favor of popular institutions which they would not, could not, themselves give their countries, were they the rulers.



A VINDICATION OF PRESIDENT LEGUIA OF PERU

By WILLIAM E. GONZALES

Former Ambassador to Cuba; until recently
United States Ambassador to Peru; Editor of
"The State," Columbia, S. C.

Peruvian President's seizure of power justified by political plots against his person—Deportation the only remedy for constant revolutionary conspiracies—Leguia working hard for the Welfare of his people—Progress in sanitation, education, industry and national defense

KNOWING Augusto B. Leguia, President of Peru, to be most cordial to Americans, to be forward looking, progressive in spirit and effort and to be striving for the advancement of his country, it is surprising to find him classed by Guillermo Perez in the April number of the *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* as one of "Three South American Despots." To friends of fair play and South American peace who are not concerned in South American politics or factionalism, it seems unfortunate that a campaign of this nature should be inaugurated against the present Government of Peru just at the moment when the representatives of Chile and Peru are meeting in Washington to present their respective sides to the chosen arbitrator, the President of the United States, in the famous "Question of the Pacific." To have this case arbitrated by the United States has been the continuous effort of Leguia during two terms as President; the statement that "he begins the solution of the international question of the Pacific by openly opposing the aspirations of almost the whole Peruvian people" is therefore somewhat difficult of comprehension. Those who have been living in Peru and studying this situation "close up" have observed no division on this subject. The cry of the Peruvian people has been for "justice"; they have confidence in the United States, and arbitration by the United States receives their most cordial indorsement.

It is true, as stated, that President Leguia while serving a former term was the "victim of revolutionary leaders who seized the supreme power and imposed on him a long exile"; it is also true that "he was finally once more proclaimed a candidate for the Presidency of the republic and won the election by a large majority, thus gaining a clean title and the right to govern his country with the support of the bulk of his fellow-citizens." But, the people of the United States are informed, "deep down in his heart, however, he concealed tendencies wholly in conflict with every democratic ideal, and these tendencies impelled him to reject the clean and honorable title given him by popular election and to seize power by means of a revolution only a few days before the term of his predecessor expired." Even on the face of that evidence it would be straining a point to brand Señor Leguia as a revolutionist for seizing an office to which he had been elected, but the other side of the story, the logical one current in Lima and the one officially accepted by the United States Government, was that the newly elected President, learning that members of the defeated party had planned to kidnap and exile him, forestalled them. What would the critics of President Leguia have advised in such circumstances? Would he, holding "a clean title" to the office, have sustained any "democratic ideal" by calmly submitting to seizure and deportation by his defeated political opponents?

Deportations are deplorable; but depor-

tations of persons believed to be planning revolution is practically the political policy of several South American countries, including Peru. One may readily conceive conditions where the material and moral influence of the United States in Peru would enable it effectively to discourage revolution and so remove cause for deportations. And what a wonderful thing for Peru would be assurance of stability of government!

Before one may justly judge of charges that the Leguia Administration has in this case or that used the "strong hand" in a manner repugnant to United States ideals—which are the growth of United States conditions—it is necessary to understand conditions in Peru. Leguia is now filling the term as President to which he was elected "by a large majority of the people"; and there is no evidence that that majority is not still supporting him despite years of desperately hard times, when the decrease in the Government's revenues did not enable it to pay the public servants. During those years no two months have passed without evidence of activity on the part of persons attempting to overthrow the Government. It was common in Lima to be assured that the overthrow would occur "within a short while." Plots were discovered; one open outbreak occurred in the north. A bomb thrown into the President's office five weeks before the centennial celebrations were to begin caused the destruction of the State reception halls, but he had them rebuilt in time.

There have been, in Leguia's régime, serious menaces from without. In 1920, during a heated political campaign in Chile, the Chilean Secretary of War announced to the Congress that Peru had massed infantry, artillery and cavalry to the number of 34,000 on the Chilean border. A Chilean army was rushed north. Though the story of the Peruvian menace was without foundation and fantastic, and a year later was so exposed by Chileans, for weeks it was feared that the undefended Peruvian frontier would be crossed and war forced on the Peruvians. At the same time delegations of Peruvians deported from the old Peruvian provinces, now held by Chile for forty years, ar-

rived at the palace and made their pitiful representations to a President unable to redress their alleged grievances. May Mr. Harding's findings as arbitrator end such conditions by bringing about a real and sane peace between Chile and Peru.

What might not President Leguia have accomplished had there been available revenue! As it is, a railroad leading to a rich region has been carried forward. Leguia's own scheme of irrigation of desert lands, begun in his first Administration under an American engineer, has been pressed in the past few years under the same engineer, and the time for at least partial fruition has come.

Other progressive steps may be summarized as follows: The United States educator, brought to Peru in President Leguia's first Administration, was called back there when Leguia again took office. He was made director of all schools and his plan for public education was adopted. Money only was needed to go forward. A Pennsylvanian is President of the historic University of Cuzco (the capital of the Inca Empire), to which post he was appointed by Leguia twelve years ago. The late General Gorgas was under contract with Leguia's Government to take charge of the sanitation of the country. After his death another American was employed. A United States expert, recommended by the Washington Government at the request of the Peruvian President, was brought to Peru to reform the customs service. The Peruvian Navy and Naval School were, three years ago, put in charge of a United States Naval Commission. Paving and sanitation have been entrusted to an American company. Were funds obtainable, every city in Peru would be paved and sewered by the same company. Under the direction of an Englishman, the Government of Leguia has undertaken to improve the quantity and quality of Peruvian wool by bettering the grade of millions of sheep. Fine English and Scotch stock have been imported for this purpose.

President Leguia is practical in plans, progressive, alert and courageous in spirit, and forward-looking for his people. His efforts for his country's betterment deserve both commendation and support.

THE FRANCO-GERMAN DEADLOCK

The situation in the Ruhr after the first three months of military occupation—Both sides unyielding—France and Belgium decide against accord with Great Britain to find solution of reparation problem

APRIL 11 marked the end of the third month of the French occupation of the Ruhr, with the economic situation in both France and Germany growing worse and no sign yet visible of a settlement of the reparation problem out of which the crisis arose. Both sides were equally unyielding in the attitude they had adopted, so that, in spite of efforts behind the scenes to bring about negotiations, the deadlock was complete.

The French and Belgian Governments, which have throughout the crisis acted in close accord, have decided anew to make the occupation so effective that they will be able to obtain the money and payments in kind which are due to them. In this France and Belgium enjoy the moral support of Italy, while Great Britain, though condemning the occupation as a serious mistake, remains neutral. The United States, the one other great nation capable of exerting influence in the direction of a settlement, steadily clings to its policy of aloofness and non-intervention. The decision of the British and United States Governments to let events take their own course is exactly in harmony with French aims, as has been made clear on more than one occasion. The semi-official note issued by the French Foreign Office on March 17 was typical of this. "The French Government," it was declared, "will consider as unfriendly and even hostile any effort at mediation. It is determined to take no account of soundings which may be made by intermediaries and it will examine German proposals only if directly and officially communicated."

Germany, powerless to offer anything more than passive resistance, has stubbornly refused to make direct proposals to France for two main reasons. The first is the fear that M. Poincaré would immediately and ruthlessly reject any plan that Germany might propose and use the in-

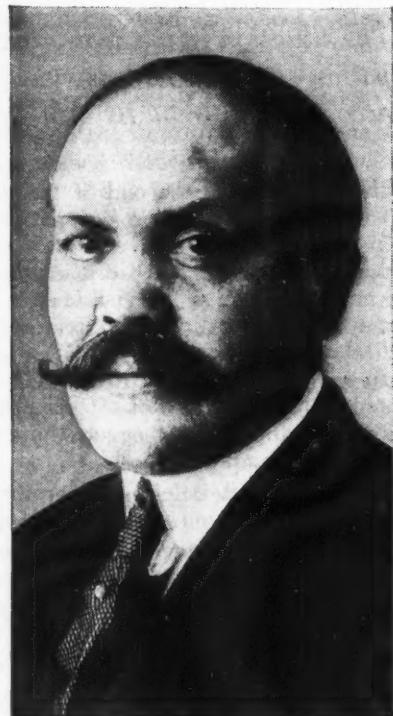
adequacy of the offer as an excuse to terminate discussion and thereupon proceed with the execution of the French scheme of annexation. The second reason that prevents the present German Government from making direct proposals is its fear of the German reactionaries whose strength is increasing. The German Government has continued to encourage the Ruhr population to meet the military measures adopted by the French with every possible form of passive resistance. The result has been industrial chaos, which has necessitated still more rigorous methods by the occupation authorities to restore production and transportation. According to an official German estimate, published on April 11, during the first three months of the occupation the French extracted only 238,000 tons of coal and coke against 4,200,000 tons they would have otherwise received as reparation. At the same time shootings and what the Germans described as atrocities, as well as deportations and the suppression of civil liberties, have intensified the bitterness between the two peoples and increased the acuteness of a situation which many impartial observers regard as perilous to the whole fabric of European civilization.

Two particularly serious clashes between French troops and the German population took place during the month. At Buer on March 10 eight Germans were killed when the French fired on a crowd that had gathered to protest against the arrest of two Germans accused of having murdered a French army officer and a French civilian official. At Essen on March 31 eleven of Krupps' workmen were killed or died of wounds as the result of an affray in which French troops, mobbed by workers, fired on them. Four of the Directors of Krupps were later arrested on a charge of complicity in the resistance to the troops. Other episodes in which

Germans were shot brought the total number killed by the French in the first three months of the occupation up to fifty. As evidence of another aspect of the occupation, a German semi-official statement was issued on March 19 showing that of the 1,450 newspapers published in the Rhineland and the Ruhr more than 400 had been suppressed for varying periods by the French and that a considerable number of editors and publishers had been fined, imprisoned and deported.

M. Poincaré continued to take an optimistic view of the outcome of his policy. Addressing the Finance Committee of the French Chamber of Deputies on March 27, he expressed the belief that the Germans would yield by the end of May. In Berlin the same day Baron von Rosenberg, the German Foreign Minister, told the Foreign Relations Committee of the Reichstag that Germany would enter into no negotiations until the French had completely evacuated the Ruhr. In spite of this uncompromising stand by both sides, it was believed in some quarters that a way had been left open for at least "feelers," or preliminary negotiations, by the statement made by M. Poincaré after his conference in Brussels on March 12 with M. Theunis, the Belgian Prime Minister, to the effect that the army of occupation would gradually be recalled as Germany fulfilled her obligations. Nothing, however, came of the suggestion.

Widespread interest was aroused early in April by the visit paid to London by Louis Loucheur, a former French Cabinet Minister, who is reputed to be the richest man in France. M. Loucheur conferred with Prime Minister Bonar Law, Lloyd George and other important personages regarding a plan for the settlement of the reparation problem, details of which were not divulged. Louis Klotz, a former French Minister of Finance, also visited London. The purpose behind these visits was stated to be an effort to bring about an agreement between the British and the French and Belgian Governments as to the future of the occupied regions. As a result of the conference held by Prime Ministers Poincaré and Theunis in Paris on April 13 and 14 it was decided not to go



LOUIS LOUCHEUR

The French financier and politician, who recently paid an unofficial visit to London to confer with Prime Minister Bonar Law and Lloyd George regarding a settlement of the reparations difficulty

on with M. Loucheur's project of an immediate effort to reach an accord with Great Britain, but to concentrate all thought and energy upon making the occupation of the Ruhr more effective. To this end the French and Belgian Governments "planned a whole series of new measures to increase their pressure and to continue it as long as it will be necessary." In the communiqué issued at the conclusion of the conference it was stated that "the two Governments reaffirmed the Brussels resolution that they will not evacuate the Ruhr and other newly occupied territories on simple German promises, but will withdraw in proportion to the execution by Germany of her obligations for reparations."

BEACON LIGHTS OF CIVILIZATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE

By HENRY NOBLE MACCRACKEN, LL.D.*
President of Vassar College

Universities of the new succession republics—National aspirations and new ideals crystallized in these rapidly growing centres of culture—A vital element of young nations, bulwarks against Bolshevism, supporters and encouragers of struggling youth

GUIDED by a young Czech alumna of Vassar College, I scrambled up the slippery slopes of Mount Devine (Czechoslovakia). The hard ice on the hillside offered much more serious resistance to us than the ruined walls of the great fortress which frowned down upon us. We were forced to give up the frontal attack and to approach the castle from the ridge, which culminated in the great rock that towers above the meeting of the Danube and the "March." At last we won to the summit and were able to appreciate its beauty as one of the "Great Divides" of human history. Southeast lay Hungary and its great plains; southwest, across the Danube, lay Austria; northwest extended the woods and hills of Bohemia; northeast stretched the little valleys of Slovakia. Four great racial strains had met at this point in history, and under Austro-Hungarian domination had created a mighty empire. At the highest point in the old castle had been erected a monument commemorating this fact, a beautiful shaft crowned by a statue celebrating a thousand years of Magyar rule. We found it in ruins. Some patriotic peasant had left his Slovak field and climbed up here with hammer and crowbar to smash its beauty to pieces and stamp out the last traces of the alien race.

That ruined monument and statue, lying in fragments at the base of the great pedestal, which had once celebrated the united empire, seemed to us to symbolize the fate that had overtaken not merely the political, but the cultural unity of Central Europe. After our return, as we

warmed ourselves in the little tavern at the foot of the hill, the inn-keeper said to us, "It was a pity to destroy the beautiful monument. No matter what it signified, it did no harm. The people will not come from Vienna any more to see it." My Czech companion said to her, "Never mind, we will build another some day." That is the story of the shattered culture of Central Europe and the brave hopes of its youth for what the future will bring.

Only a few miles away, in the City of Bratislava, stands a concrete instance. Until the armistice, and for a year thereafter, there flourished in the buildings of an old convent the Royal Elizabeth University of Pressburg, as the city now known as Bratislava was then called. After the attack by the Hungarians upon this city, following the armistice and the award to Czechoslovakia of the protecting bridgehead across the river, the Hungarian university migrated and took up its exile in the Magyar city of Pecz, where for the last two years its professors and students, without books, without apparatus, almost without a home, have suffered great privations, fortified only by their resolution to carry on until their country can come to their aid. A similar

*President MacCracken was given a semester's leave of absence by the Trustees of Vassar College in order to enable him to visit the universities of Central Europe as the agent of the Institute of International Education. He delivered thirty-five lectures on American education at eighteen European universities in eleven countries of the Baltic area between the months of August and February, 1922. The special purpose of his visit was to study the organization of new universities, one of the most remarkable among the phenomena of nationalism since the armistice.

tragic story comes from Southeastern Hungary, where a Transylvanian university, self-exiled from Rumania, has taken refuge from Szeged.

NEW UNIVERSITY OF BRATISLAVA

Meanwhile, in Bratislava, the rebaptized Pressburg, a brand new Slovak national university started last year in the old monastery rooms. There are just a few books upon the shelves, just a few microscopes in the cabinets. The rooms are barely furnished with the simplest benches, for nothing was left by the exiles when they evacuated. Only the spirit of the new national culture is there and the resolution of the race, released by freedom of autonomy within the republic, to realize a culture in science and in higher worlds of thought which should be worthy of the beauty of its folk-song and its popular arts.

I witnessed in the new university a beautiful ceremony during the Christmas holidays of 1922. The Pro-Rector of the University of Prague and the Dean of the Philosophical Faculty had journeyed down from their great centre of learning, oldest in its part of Europe, to confer an honorary degree upon an aged citizen of Slovakia, Dr. Holuba. For two generations this man had kept alive the smoldering patriotism of his people by stimulating their love and their knowledge of the flowers of their native fields. The Slovaks were denied schools. They were denied the use of their own language. They were the victims of as thoroughgoing an imperial policy as any subject race ever experienced. But their rules could not kill their love of beauty. Every embroidered apron which a Slovak maiden sewed upon was to her a symbol of the cultural permanence of her race. Every folk-song chanted at the village dances was an appeal to the Slovak heart to stand fast for national integrity. And every flower in the field, under the teaching of Holuba, became a symbol of the day when their land and race should be free. The first degree to be awarded in the new University of Bratislava, therefore, was of right given to the famous old botanist. As he received his diploma, he said to those who had gathered in the crowded little

hall, "I accept the honor only because it may teach the young men of my country that the long years of study may have their rewards."

But the new universities of Europe are not only bringing to life old nationalistic aspirations. They are also spreading new ideals of education among the people. In the biological laboratory of this same University of Bratislava is a professor, Dr. Ruzicka, who has worked out an educational philosophy which corresponds very closely to the prevalent American idea of the value of a university training. He calls it "Eubiotik," or the science of bringing about good living, which strangely suggests the educational career of Ellen H. Richards, a Vassar alumna of a generation ago, and her "Euthenics," which she defined as the science of right living. In more than one State university in our West will be found Ellen H. Richards cottages, where young women are taught the technique of household management. So in the future there may be in Czechoslovakia the Ruzicka laboratories, where science will choose as its principal aim the bringing of the human family into what Dr. Ruzicka calls a "state of nature"—not what Rousseau meant by that phrase, however, but a harmony of the race with its own capacities and with its environment, so far as science can find these out and bring about the adaptation.

RAPID GROWTH OF NEW CULTURAL CENTRES

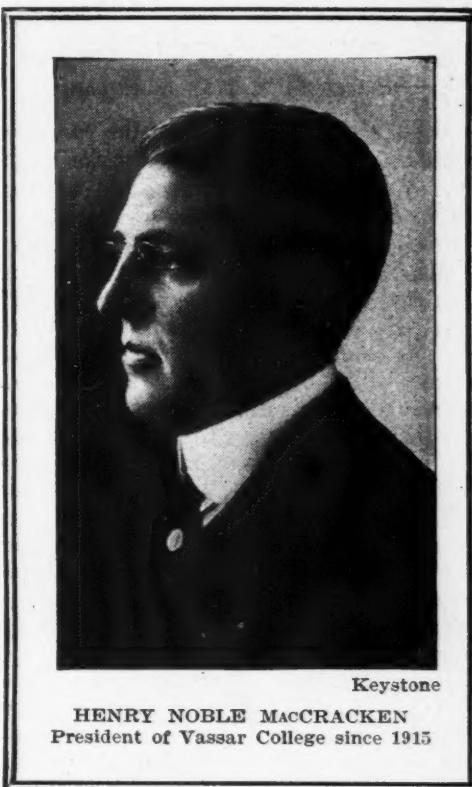
On the whole, the loss of the old cultural centres is not greatly to be lamented. The Russian universities of Russia's western provinces were rather instruments of oppression than of culture, and there are few who weep for their loss. The days of readjustment are difficult and full of problems, but the tremendous energy of the new nationalism which has sprung to life within the last three years will carry the new centres rapidly forward. The great war shook these peoples out of their false securities. Their instinct of self-preservation forced upon them a bond of social union within each race of a most vital character. Out of this compactness of national aim came victory, and with the

victory exultation and a release of all the powers of the race, which naturally found expression in the university as the crown of the national culture. Thus, almost the first thought of each republic in Central Europe has been the creation of the national university. The development has, indeed, gone beyond what to the casual tourist seems necessary, or even wise. Even in culturally conservative Denmark the first action of the Government upon receiving the somewhat unwilling province of Schleswig under the terms of the Versailles Treaty was to prepare for the establishment of a new cultural centre of the nation at Aarhus, though the need is not apparent.

The Norwegians of the capital district have made concessions to the provincials of the western coast by promising to establish a new university at Bergen. The Finns have not only refounded Helsingfors University as a Finnish cultural centre, where the Swedish-speaking professors are gradually to be displaced by those speaking Finnish, but they have founded two new universities in the former capital of the country, Abo, one for the Swedish nationals of their land, one for the Finnish. To the Swedish University of Abo will come for their training the young men and women of the Aland Islands, recently awarded to Finland by the decision of the League of Nations. These universities of Abo are of private organization, and founded by campaigns carried on by energetic citizens upon the American model of educational "drives."

In each of the three so-called "potato republics," Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, a new national university has been established, either out of an old Russian university or from the beginnings, in Riga, Dorpat and Kovno.

Czechoslovakia has established not only Bratislava for the Slovaks, but Brno for the Moravians, while in Prague is the greatest university centre of the world. It is estimated that no fewer than 27,000 students of full university rank and time are gathered in the old medieval city. For purposes of comparison it may be said that there are probably not exceeding 20,000 university students of full uni-



HENRY NOBLE MACCRACKEN
President of Vassar College since 1915

versity time and rank in the whole of New York City. Prague has not merely the Czech university, named after the Emperor Charles, but the German Ferdinand University, a German and a Czech Institute of Technology, an Agricultural Institute and a commercial university, and finally a Russian and a Ukrainian university, all carried upon the national budget. The two latter are composed of professors and students, refugees from the Bolshevik tyranny. The latest of these to arrive, when I was in Prague, was Sorokine, Professor of Sociology at Petrograd, who, because of his commanding position, had been left uninterfered with by the Bolsheviks until he published a book upon the sociology of famine, which he entitled "Hunger as a Factor." This work, depicting in ruthless scientific manner the real disintegration of Russian life under Bolshevism, was too much for the Bolsheviks to swallow. Like the medieval anachronisms that they are, they revived the old custom of book burn-

ing, destroyed the entire edition, and exiled the fearless professor.

HIGHER EDUCATION IN POLAND

With a currency almost at the vanishing point, not far from 50,000 marks to the dollar, Poland has voted untold millions of its ruinous paper to the increase of its university facilities. In Vilna, Poznan, Lemberg (Lwow), Cracow, Lublin and Warsaw universities are springing with new life out of the old soil. Most ambitious building projects are in hand. There will come to Vassar College as an exchange professor next year Dr. Michael Siedlecki, who from 1920 to 1922 was rector of the new Polish University of Vilno, and who organized its Faculties and classes in the old monastery. Returning to his own university of Cracow, the oldest in Poland, a flourishing institution when Copernicus was an undergraduate there, Dr. Siedlecki was asked to plan for a great new biological institute. Although he had seen most of the biological institutes of Europe, he felt that the most marked advances in biological education had come recently in America, and he will therefore come to the United States next year as Vassar's guest, in order that he may spend the money that Poland has voted to Cracow in the most efficient and scientific way.

The University of Latvia, at Riga, has plans no less ambitious than those of the Polish universities. Housed in the old Polytechnic, which is quite inadequate for its more than 5,000 students, the university is planning to move, as Columbia and New York universities moved, out into the less thickly settled part of the town. So the University of Prague has been awarded by the Czech Parliament two great tracts of land upon the River Moldau, the most valuable sites in the whole city, next to the National Opera and the Parliament buildings themselves.

VITAL ELEMENT IN NEW STATES

Everywhere in the new republics the universities are conceived as an essential factor in the new State. They are not something extraneous and superimposed. They are vital elements in its fabric. They

stand, as does the University of Helsingfors, fronting the Parliament Building and the great cathedral in the central square of the capital city. Their professors are sought as Premiers of the new States, as in Czechoslovakia, Poland and Finland. Their students are recruited as leaders of the new political parties. Their law Faculties are training young men and women who will soon take hold of the reins of government. Their departments of languages and sociology, of geography and economics, are exploring and formulating the laws of their new national existence. In the midst of problems that seem to defy solution, the universities of Central Europe are today centres of hope, and it is impossible for one who studies their life to believe that this part of the world can long lie prostrate. Those who believe in the essential unity of intellectual life the world around cannot but deplore the almost total isolation of these universities from the rest of the scientific and cultural world. The utter impossibility of purchasing books and other apparatus of science from America and England excludes them from contact with us just when, in the development of their new democracy, they need most our experience. Measures are being taken by the great educational foundations of America and by the scientific associations to remedy this state of affairs, and it is hoped that ere many moons are passed some regular system may be devised which will bring to these institutions the contacts of which they stand so sorely in need.

The problems which confront university thought in all these countries are similar to those which arose in the early days of our own Republic. Current events in Czechoslovakia, with the autonomy movement of the Slovaks, and in Poland at Vilna and Lemberg, remind us insistently of the early jealousies of Northern and Southern States after our own Constitution was adopted, and of the attitude of citizens of annexed territories in Louisiana and California. The new spirit of nationalism in all these countries, though chiefly the result of dissatisfaction with past conditions, is apt, without the correction of the historical perspective through experi-

ence with other countries, to run political parties headlong into rash and dangerous action. The background of all these peoples, it must be remembered, is imperial domination and rule by an alien bureaucracy. In Estonia, for example, the natives are practically without experience of ownership of land, much less of government. Their instruction in government is only the echo of the old Russian régime. Democracy is to them an idea, not a fact. The confiscation of land from the previous landowners and its division among the peasants may seem to Americans, who think of the rights of property as sacred, radical and dangerous, when, in fact, judged by the circumstances of the country, it is really a measure in the direction of conservatism, satisfying as it does, the land hunger of the peasant.

There is in all the universities a deep dissatisfaction with existing conditions, in so far as they are relics of the past, but the leaders of university life are not rebels against the existing Governments. Rather, they are the trusted counselors of the new republics, and in every case are at work with hope for the future.

BULWARKS AGAINST BOLSHEVISM

Throughout the republics which front the western frontier of Russia, the experience brought to them by Russian professors who are refugees from the tyranny of the Soviet Government has had a profound and sobering effect upon radical thought. The Communist Party is very small in the universities, which have the opportunity of observing a communistic experiment twenty miles away, as is the case, for example, at Dorpat. The University of Latvia, at Riga, has as its rector—the office corresponding to that of our university President—a professor of the classics, Dr. Felsberg, who a year ago was enjoying the delights of a Soviet prison. Such men—and I had interviews with at least a score of them during my journey—harbor surprisingly little bitterness as a result of their terrible experiences. They always make the point that the Soviet Government is a temporary thing, and must not be confused with great Russia itself. Eventually, they believe, the 99 per cent. will re-

absorb the 1 per cent. and Russia will be herself again. The experiment, terrible as it has been, will not be without profit, but they feel that it has been made on a scale sufficiently large for the world to draw its own conclusion, and they do not desire to see its results repeated in their own countries.

No description of university life in Central Europe would be complete without a reference to anti-Semitism. That ugly spectre, a bequest from days of medieval superstition, still stalks through academic halls in Central Europe. During my stay in Poland, the students of all the universities carried through a one-day strike in protest against the proportion of Jewish students in the universities. They want them reduced, by the application of the so-called *numerus clausus*, from 50 per cent. to 11 per cent. of the proportion of Jews in the total population. In Cracow, the former rector was mobbed by the students, and the present rector barely escaped a similar attack, merely because there was Jewish blood in their veins. In Rumania, the universities have been closed because of anti-Jewish riots. In Prague the German students of the university struck for several weeks because the newly-elected rector was a Jew. In Vienna, the students were even more strenuous in demanding action, and the rector at first rather weakly yielded to their demand. The movement spread to Germany, where students at the University of Jena issued orders that the front seats in all classes should be reserved for students of pure Germanic blood. As most of the Jews in Czechoslovakia are of German antecedents, the Jewish problem has not extended into the Czech universities, which alone preserve an atmosphere of tolerance.

Anti-Semitism, like political conservatism, is in part a result of the experience of the Russian refugees, who are more or less unwilling and unwelcome guests in every university centre. It is a question far too vast to be answered in a short article like this, and its implications go far beyond university life and strength to intervene in political conditions. In general, however, it may be said that it is the tendency of the Central European to blame whatever present ills he has upon the Jew,

just as Nero is said to have thrown the blame for Rome's burning upon the early Christians. The parties of reaction, consisting largely of the aristocracy, and therefore much less of Jews than other parties, are most deeply involved in the anti-Semitic agitation, and it must be admitted that the blame does not lie wholly on one side.

It is impossible to say, at Lemberg, for example, who is responsible for the division of the student body into Christian and Jew. The Jewish students have their own self-government association, their own student building, their own societies and organizations, and there is scarcely more contact between Jew and Christian than between the black and white population of New York City. It is partly true that the great Jewish population of Poland has developed its nationalism within the Polish State, as a result of its social isolation, but it is also true that it has been encouraged by the teachings of its own leaders. If the movement continues in the next few years as it has begun, it is almost impossible to predict any other solution than the establishment of separate Jewish universities in those districts where the Jewish population is large. As conditions become more stabilized and the new civic rights of the Jew better recognized, the university life would be slowly ameliorated and the Jew become once more welcome in the Christian university, where at present he is to a great extent upon sufferance.

It is, however, not for America to point the finger of scorn at Central Europe in this matter. Even with the present anti-Semitism, the Central European universities have probably more Jews upon their faculties in high positions, and the professors themselves are more tolerant toward Jews, than is the case in American universities. In Europe, where the professors elect their own Presidents, the mere fact that a Jew could be elected rector at Prague and Cracow is proof that the tolerance in the circle of university professors is upon the whole higher than in America. Anti-Semitism in American universities works furtively and by extra-legal means, but it is none the less powerful and widespread.

STUDENTS HELPED MORALLY AND PRACTICALLY

The first two or three years after the armistice brought to the universities of Central Europe young men whose early experience had been to a large extent demoralizing and who were profoundly dissatisfied with the restraints of civilian life. The effect in all these countries was a tendency away from religion and from morality. Of late, however, there has been a distinct gain in religious and moral ways. Here the part played by the American Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. is not to be despised. The young men and women employed by these associations, experienced in dealing with university life, were able to have a great influence for good in the student associations. Their point of approach was, of course, a great need for relief among the poor students. Probably the greatest single factor contributing to the restoration of moral conditions among the students was the suggestion of self help as the solution of student need in the European university. The German National Student Union, operating through its economic department, has, in close association with English and American student counselors, worked out a system of student employment agencies and co-operative supplies which has no parallel in America. In self-reliance, mutual aid, thrift and the various other moral factors that enter into self-support, this movement introduces an entirely new spirit into German university life and is itself probably the greatest advance toward democracy that the German university has ever witnessed.

Poland and other countries in only less degree have, under Anglo-Saxon guidance, established similar enterprises. There already existed in Poland prior to the war a famous organization called the Bratnia Pomoc (Fraternal Aid). Through this association, students are today not only supporting themselves in large measure, but they are giving from their paltry wages some portion of their savings to the erection of residential halls for future university students.

On a cold, snowy day last November in Lemberg, I stood on a hill overlooking

the city and was presented by the President of the Students' Association of the Lemberg Polytechnic with an album containing views showing the progress of the erection of a great student centre to house 500 students. All of the work was done by the young men and women of the Polytechnic. The men were there digging the foundations and laying the brick; the women were acting as architects' assistants, checkers, draftsmen and foremen.

RELIGIOUS UNITY VS. NATIONALISM

From experience with American association workers has arisen an admiration for Western elements of individualism and private initiative, democracy and community life, which will have a far-reaching influence upon the younger and more progressive of the professors and students. Along religious lines, also, the effect cannot fail to be liberalizing in its tendency. The great Christian associations of America, including the Knights of Columbus, have been careful to avoid any actions that might give offense to the existing church organizations in these countries, whether Catholic or Protestant. But the sight of American workers extending social relief in the name of religion has given to all these churches a new inspiration and a new life. The reaction toward religion has undoubtedly been most profound in Russia, where the Russian Orthodox Church is today stronger than ever, rising from the ashes of its martyrdom under revolution, and according to some witnesses, recapturing most of the population. The crowded audiences at Dorpat of young men and women whom I addressed under religious auspices were a strong evidence, however, that the movement extended to the other countries. The conference of student religious associations at Turnov last Spring was another proof. In Czechoslovakia, in particular, the national church movement has found its echo in university life. Any definite movement toward church affiliation among the students there is slower than in other countries, but its advent may confidently be expected.

Germany shows the persistence of the decentralizing tendency more strongly than other countries. The Student League

of Youth and the recent cult of mysticism under Stefan George have produced in certain university circles an atmosphere akin to that in Goethe's time, involving a withdrawal from the world, and self-introspection and soul-cultivation as a prime duty of youth. Side by side with this go monarchistic organizations and the recrudescence of extreme nationalism. The present contest over the Ruhr Valley is likely to spread to German university life, submerging all other currents in a great wave of unifying patriotism akin to that which united all Germany against France in 1870.

One day, when I was a guest of Hugh Gibson, American Minister in Warsaw, some young university students called upon us and informed us that they were members of the new Fascista organization of Poland. It was my first introduction to this movement, rapidly spreading now through university circles. In my judgment, however, the spirit of Fascismo cannot migrate. The combination of idealism with the phrase and with the costume is so characteristic of the Italian temperament that it would wither north of the Alps. Mussolini is but Garibaldi redivivus. But Fascismo and the example of Italy offers a convenient excuse to the extreme monarchists and reactionaries of the Central European countries for the development of a secret terroristic organization which will render their minority more powerful. If the present democratic governments enforce the law, they will have the majority of the people with them in resisting this new factor, and it will be in the long run negligible.

POLITICS AND POVERTY

The great mass of the people in all these countries are in favor of democracy and the students and professors in the universities are no exception to this rule. Even among the Russian refugees, the man who would like to see a Czar return cannot be found. But all of these countries are suffering politically from the notion that political parties exist to carry out certain ideal theories of the State, rather than to get the business of government done. As there are innumerable shades of opinion as to just what form of democracy or so-

cialism the National Government should take, the party votes are divided among a multitude of parties and the Premier represents only the largest minority of electors. Coalitions are temporary and may split at any time. All of these parties are represented in student and professorial opinion, and in many universities branches of the various political parties are actively encouraged. At the University of Christiania, for example, the student bulletin board at the entrance to the main university building is divided, not into athletics, dramatics and debate, but into communist, left socialist, centre, right socialist and conservative. There is too much politics in the European university, and the students waste too much of their time in active political work and agitation. The business of a student while he is a student is to be primarily a student, of politics as of everything else, and he should not allow himself to be exploited by the political parties. Against this tendency the professors struggle, but often in vain. They themselves only too frequently are the leaders of political opinion among the students.

There is pessimism in the universities, but it is not so much pessimism as worry

that is troubling the students, and worry is quite a different thing from pessimism. I stood by the rector's side at the University of Königsberg during a convocation ceremony. In addressing the students, four hundred new registrants, the rector said: "The thought, I know, that is uppermost in your minds today is *Sorge* (worry)." The remainder of his remarks were an exposition of the means taken by the university to assist the students in their effort to live.

Pessimism is not a philosophy for the individual struggling desperately for a livelihood, and carrying in his mind the hope of a free future for the new country of his dreams. To such as these the universities of Central Europe stand like high lighthouses upon the coast-line of civilization, their lanterns steadily sending out the light of inspiration and hope. If they can be replenished from the stores of learning and experience in other lands, the leaders of these newly enfranchised peoples can set their course by them in confidence. America will be proud in the future of whatever friendly co-operation she is able to give to the development of university life in the republics of Central Europe.



THE DICTATORSHIP OF BENITO MUSSOLINI

By CARLETON BEALS*

How Italy's new ruler has consolidated his power—Amazing story, by a trained American observer, of how Mussolini has subordinated the Italian Parliament, gained control of legislation, finances, army and navy, and built up a personal bodyguard—The raging of his "Black Guards" in Italy

IN the short space of four months, Benito Mussolini, Italy's Fascista dictator, has secured "full powers," including control of finances (taxation and disbursement); has reduced Parliament to a convenient rubber stamp; has increased the prestige of the Senate, while at the same time diluting it with newly appointed Fascisti and Nationalists; has built up a hand-picked group of personal followers—a Praetorian Guard—armed and paid for by the State; has assumed direct control of the army and navy; has curtailed the efficiency and importance of previously existing police units; has ruthlessly eliminated officials not avowedly pro-Fascist; and has reduced all the important parties to the position of official sycophants. No individual, since Robespierre and Napoleon, has exercised such direct, unrestricted and omnipotent powers over a people, for in Russia there is a duumvirate resting on the more or less secure economic subsoil of the Communist Party. Mussolini is running with the hares and is hunting with the hounds; he has blurred issues, played into the hands of France and destroyed some of the most enlightened legislation passed since the war.

The first steps taken by Mussolini upon assuming the office of Prime Minister after the Fascist revolution, were designed to tighten his control of the governmental machinery and at the same time inspire the country with confidence. The second phase of revolution, he had often stated, should be that of conciliation. He an-

nounced the make-up of his Cabinet almost simultaneously with his coup, and held the first official reunion a few days later. He then issued a statement to the press, promising immediate bureaucratic reform, economy, return to the industrial laissez faire, or "let live" policy, and a prompt solution of the emigration problem. Subsequently, he guaranteed the freedom of the press ("because the press is worthy of liberty"), discountenanced further Fascist violence, and threatened all those who should combat the new Government. He made particular efforts to allay the fears at home and abroad of any attempt to follow out immediately the Fascist foreign policy, though at the same time announcing that he would uncompromisingly protect Italy's interests before the world. He declared that he would establish Italy on a basis of equality with England or France, or else break the alliance with those two countries.

His chief concern, however, was with regard to the armed forces of the State. General Diaz of war fame and one of the participators in the "March on Rome," was entrusted with the War Department, where he effected a quick shifting of officials. De Bono, General Commander of

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the Black Shirt Militia, was put in charge of the police forces—the Carabinieri, the Guardia Regia and so forth. Nearly all the provincial Prefects and local police heads were replaced with Fascisti or Nationalists. Preliminary plans were outlined to reduce the police forces (on the plea of economy) and to create a new national guard.

The Chamber was permitted to reopen on Nov. 16. Mussolini, in demanding a vote of confidence, did not mince words. After pointing out the previous inefficiency of the Chamber and the instability of the post-war Cabinets, he let it be clearly understood that the fate of the Chamber was entirely in his hands. "I leave it," he said, "to the melancholy fanatics of superconstitutionalism to dissertate more or less lamentingly upon this fact. I affirm that the revolution has its rights." He promised to observe proper bounds, but warned that with "three hundred thousand fully armed youths, resolved to anything and almost mystically ready to obey my orders, I could have punished all those who defamed and attempted to throw mud at Fascism; I could have made this gray hall a bivouac of my bands. I could have closed Parliament and constituted a purely Fascista Government."

Subsequent speeches in the Chamber consisted largely of exaggerations by Fascist Deputies of Mussolini's threats, coupled with guarantees that if the Chamber proved recalcitrant, a new election would be made "with Fascist clubs." Out of a Chamber of 535 members, 306 were in favor of awarding the vote of confidence. Some 116 votes, mainly Socialist, were registered in opposition. The Catholics and Communists largely absented themselves; the Slavs and Germans abstained from voting. A resolution was then introduced granting Mussolini full powers ("pieni poteri") "to reorganize and simplify the finances, to balance the budget and better distribute the tax burdens, to reduce the functions of the State, to increase the efficiency of the public offices and institutions, to curtail expenses"; and further granting until Dec. 1, 1923, "the right to issue 'dispositions' having the force of law." During the month of March, 1924, Mussolini "will give an account to Parliament of

the use of the powers conferred by the present law."

This resolution was adopted by a vote of 215 to 80, a majority of 135 of those present. Half the membership of the entire Chamber comes to 268; 53 votes were therefore lacking to give Mussolini a true majority. Nearly half the Deputies had absented themselves, either out of veiled antipathy or complete indifference—proof, in itself, that the Chamber of Deputies, which had been declining in importance and effectiveness ever since the declaration of war in 1915, had ceased to be, in the true sense of the words, a governing body.

The second meeting of the Chamber was called on Feb. 7 to ratify treaties. Montecitorio, on this occasion, was surrounded on the first day by an impressive detachment of newly created Black Guards. The labors of the Chamber were restricted to the ratification of foreign treaties. Mussolini declined to discuss internal affairs.

After assuming full powers, the Dictator largely centred his activities upon establishing his power by weeding out of the public services all those upon whom any imputation of anti-Fascism might be cast. The "spoils system" was carried right down through the lowest offices. Part of this was necessary economy. Whole bureaus were wiped out, and the Post Office, railway service and Department of Education overhauled. In the railway service, 50,000 men were paid off—a necessary and sane reform. The administrative and teaching staffs of the schools (sadly depleted during and after the war) were so reduced by the new measures as seriously to handicap the entire system.

BUILDING A BODYGUARD

Simultaneously steps were taken to eliminate the Guardia Regia, a body of police created by Premier Nitti consisting of 41,000 men. At the time of the factory seizures in 1920, Giolitti had openly declared that he could not depend upon this corps. It was supposed to be permeated with "subversive elements." The more faithful members were now absorbed into the Carabinieri—an old and tested force. The dissolution of the Guardia Regia was not accomplished without some violence.

BENITO MUSSOLINI



Ewing Galloway

The favorite portrait of the Italian Prime Minister, who likes to be thought of as a man of iron will and to be compared with Napoleon

In Turin, Naples, Brescia, Florence and elsewhere some of the barracks, or groups in the barracks, revolted. In Turin the revolt had to be quelled in the streets and piazzas by the combined force of the Fascisti and Carabinieri using rifles and machine guns.

To take the place of the Guardia Regia, the new militia of Black Guards was organized, consisting of 80,000 members. Mussolini's economy consisted of doubling the number previously existing in the Guardia Regia and appreciably increasing the strength of the Carabinieri! The new Black Guards were made responsible, not to the King, but to God and the Premier. The basis of selection was known personal loyalty to Mussolini, and the previous record of the candidate in the World War and in the guerrilla expeditions organized against the labor headquarters and press. At the same time, all other voluntary armed groups were demobilized, including the Sempre Pronti or Blue Shirt Nationalists (some of whom were absorbed into the new militia), the d'Annunzian legionaries (who in some cases resisted with violence) and the revolutionary Arditi del Popolo.

The principal difficulties arose in connection with the Nationalists, especially in the South, where repeated conflicts occurred between the Blue Shirts and the Black Shirts. After three months of continuous negotiation, an agreement was reached between the leaders of the Nationalists and Mussolini regarding the number of Blue Shirts to be absorbed into the Black Guard Militia, together with guarantees as to the future freedom of the activities of the Nationalists. Yet the friction survived in the South. No sooner had the agreement been announced than at Bernalda (February, 1923) there occurred a battle in the streets which was later carried on from the doors and windows as the Blue Shirts were driven to cover. Thirteen Nationalists and three Fascisti were killed and many more seriously wounded. An equally serious conflict took place at Basilicata, said by the Nationalists to have been directly inspired by Avv. Sansanelli, one of the most prominent Fascist leaders. These conflicts continue to crop out.

"PURIFYING" THE FASCISTI

The efforts of Mussolini have been complicated by differences in the ranks of the Fascista Party itself, and armed conflicts have occurred for the possession of headquarters in Rome, Venice, Bari and other cities. The leaders of the party have been systematically disbanding Fasci in Bari, Palermo, Vicenza, Venice, Spezia, Leghorn, and generally from one end of Italy to the other, and reorganizing them with special attention to the personal record of each applicant. In Turin (a hotbed of communism, which even the Fascisti, in unguarded moments, admit has not been "converted") not only the Fascio, but the newly-created militia units were dissolved. A general commission was created to investigate conditions and readmit those found worthy. In Gorizia not only were all the local Fasci disbanded because of internal disagreements and violence, but the provincial organization itself was expelled en bloc. The Fascist National Party has entrusted the reorganization of the Fascist locals in Sardinia and elsewhere to the Prefects appointed by Mussolini. The organization is thus effectively subordinated to the small Nationalist clique in control of the armed forces of the nation, and Fascism is robbed of all democratic or autonomous initiative. The "leaders" are concentrating their efforts upon the creation of a closed, rigidly disciplined group, blindly loyal to Mussolini.

Mussolini's guarantee of freedom of the press has been only partially carried out. During the first few days of the new Administration a great many newspapers were seized or destroyed, including such as *Il Paese*, *L'Epoca* and all the labor papers of Rome; the *Corriere della Sera* and the *Avanti* of Milan, the *Cittadino* of Brescia, the *Gazzetta dell' Emilia* of Modena, the *Corriere del Mattino* of Verona, the *Lavoro* of Genoa, and so forth. Later most of these papers were permitted to resume publication under their own management, though some have never been re-issued, among them the *Paese*. Though expressing his belief in a free press, Mussolini exerts gentle pressure on the few papers of importance which tend to criti-

cise. In cases of internal disturbances, brief official reports are sent out upon which it is forbidden to enlarge. Other papers have been requested to desist from printing critical material. Papers destroyed by Fascisti have no legal redress. Known anti-Fascist editors, who fail to show a readiness to change their views, are, through secret channels of influence forced to relinquish their editorial chairs. It is reported that Senator Bergamini, editor of the *Giornale d'Italia*, one of the most conservative and at the same time reliable publications of the capital, is being forced out in this manner.

VENGEANCE AND VANDALISM

Though internal violence has abated since the Fascisti seized power, Fascist forays are carried on as before. One would have to go over the small local press of Italy to discover the real occurrences that take place. The Black Shirts, certain of official protection, are carrying terrible vengeance to those small villages where, prior to the governmental change, they were unable to achieve marked results. Even in larger centres acts of vandalism occur. In Brescia a squadron of twenty-five Fascisti recently invaded the Fraction of Fenili Belasi di Capriano, beat pedestrians, shot down the streets, broke into several private homes, and sought to inflict violence upon Giovanni Trainini, the priest of the parish. In Alatri, Black Shirts invaded and devastated the club of the Popular Party; in Turin, the Socialist Club of the Borgate San Paolo e Cenesia was wrecked and burned. In Dro (Trentino) the Socialist band headquarters was invaded and the instruments and possessions destroyed. In Spezia, following the assassination of the Fascist Giovanni Lubrano, head of a squadron, by an unknown hand, individual and group attacks were made upon known radicals. In Stroppiano Vercellese, the Casa del Popolo was attacked for the second time, its contents destroyed and the roof torn off.

The attack upon Socialist and Popular officials, elected by ballot in regular elections, also continues. Mussolini issued an order that all forced resignations occurring after his assumption of power be re-

scinded and the officials restored to their posts. This proved a mere formality, as the resigned officials in the majority of cases refused to assume their positions because of the danger to the community that would result from Fascist incursions if they retained office. In the province of Rome five members of the Provincial Administration resigned upon Fascist orders. In Bareggio the municipal officials, threatened with "defenestration" (being thrown from windows), resigned en masse. In Como, after repeated violence at the meetings of both the Municipal and Provincial Councils, when various officials were forced to drink castor oil in copious quantities, both Administrations gave up office. Other localities in which the popularly elected officials were obliged to resign, according to reports appearing in *L'Epoca*, *Giustizia* and other papers, have been: Catania, Barisciano, Micigliano, Ripatransone, Ariano di Puglia, Mugnano del Cardinale, Poglinano, Verola Nuova, Verola Vecchia, Padernello, Isola Liri, Castelforte, Minturno a Fondi, Riposto, Giarro, Nicodia, Eubea, Aderno Mineo, Palagonia, Pizzighetone, Paderno, Marris, Reggello, Deliceto, Chiavara, Rapallo, Palma, Montechiaro, Ravanusa, Manduria, Monte Pagano, San Domenico, Altapascio, Massacortile, Macerata, Montelupone, Fivizzano, San Salvatore, Pozzuoli, Noventa, Villa Estense, Nebrano Cortile, San Martino, Varchi, Bretina, Pecciola, Lari, Frerricciola, San Luca, Barile, Albano, San Fior, Ponte di Piave.

"BLACK GUARD" VIOLENCE

Violence in local elections continued, but as the Communists, Socialists, and in many places the Populists, refused to place tickets in the field no occasion for disturbance arose. In Biella, where all opposition tickets were withdrawn, the Fascisti put up posters: "Electors, throw off your apathy! Electors, awake!" and a statement was made in a Fascist paper, "Who does not vote is sick. Who is sick has urgent need of castor oil." Many voters were taken to the polls under threat of violence. In the elections of Bologna, Pisa and elsewhere, the Fascisti brought members of opposing parties to the ballot boxes by force; in other localities, accord-

ing to the Catholic Press, the Fascisti calmly filled in their own lists up to 70 or 80 per cent. of the number of registered voters, then called the polls closed. In Busto Arisizio, after throwing the municipal officials bodily from the windows, the Fascisti made preparations for a new election by driving opposition candidates and speakers from the locality. The other parties thereupon withdrew from the contest, leaving the Fascisti in full possession of the field.

The Black Guard Militia, created at the beginning of the year and composed of the very individuals who, prior to the accession of Fascism to power, had exercised their bombing and destructive tactics, naturally do little to restrain their brothers-in-arms. Indeed the new Black Guards have consistently invaded the homes of former members of the Socialist and Communist Parties. In order to intimidate the Chamber by stirring up popular feeling, just prior to its second opening on Feb. 7, some four hundred arrests of Communists and allied elements were made, and much good ink spilled to make newspaper "scareheads." Such arrests continue daily in retaliation to a manifesto from Moscow which reads in part: "After two years of sackage, of incendiarism and of assassination to the injury of the working class, the Fascisti have taken control of the State," and "have abolished the parliamentary régime, the liberty of the press; have suppressed all the legislative, executive and judicial powers, which are concentrated in the hands of a small 'Great Council' upheld by Pretorian guards."

In addition to these arrests, various labor headquarters have been arbitrarily closed, and the organizations ordered disbanded; as, for instance, the General Association of Turin Workers, which was founded in 1850 as a mutual benefit association and which has controlled the Railway Co-operative and the Co-operative Alliance of Turin. In Molirella, the Socialist Co-operative was arbitrarily occupied by the police on a technicality and its goods sold with none of the customary legal steps. In addition to these direct attacks, there was created toward the end of January the Volunteer Railway Police,

made up of Fascist workers, to prevent "in every way, fraud and robbery in the State railway service," and "to make certain that the personnel of the railways observe most scrupulously its proper duties." The real purpose, as experience has already disclosed, is to spy upon and intimidate those not in the inner clique of Fascism. It is suggested that such police units be organized in all industries.

NEW FASCISTA POLICY

Aside from attempts to institute financial reform and to cut down the bureaucracy (and apparently the new Government in this regard has made considerable progress), the new policy of the Fascista Administration revolves around:

1. National Defense—the strengthening and expanding of the military forces.
2. Industry—the re-creation of a state of *laissez faire*.
3. Labor—the creation of a national council of labor.

At the beginning of the year Mussolini inaugurated a sweeping reorganization of the military forces, and especially of the High Command. A Supreme Council of National Defense (to be presided over by Mussolini himself) was created. Toward the end of the same month he founded a volunteer reserve militia consisting of all those from 17 to 50; enlistments were accepted and handled at the Black Guard headquarters. This volunteer militia, comparable to our national guard, is given special training on fixed days and is subject to the same military regulations as the old Fascist Black Shirts. It will be called into the active "service of God and the country" by the Premier when he deems it necessary. The term of compulsory military training was extended to eighteen months; the regular standing army has been increased from 180,000 to more than 250,000. Extensive preparations are being made to develop aviation, and the merchant marine is being expanded.

The policy of industrial *laissez faire* is being carried out in all directions. A great deal of governmental red tape has been abolished. Mussolini plans to turn all State industry (ultimately even the Post Office) over to private hands.



Wide World

Mussolini reviewing the National Police, organized to replace the Guardia Regia (Royal Guard)

Even prior to the Fascist coup the Government sought to have private capital relieve it of the incubus of the telephones. American capitalists looking over the ground came to the conclusion that even if the red tape restraints upon private industry were removed, the telephone system would have to be reorganized from top to bottom. Despite the Government's willingness to dispose of the railroads, buyers did not appear on the scene. The railways of Italy were never properly installed, and an efficient system would entail enormous expenditure. With the exception of the Po Valley region the grades are heavier than in Switzerland. The competition of water transportation cuts down freight returns; coal must be imported from other parts of Europe. Every one agrees that Italy would be benefited by pruning out the industries now under governmental control which have become hopelessly inefficient and thoroughly contaminated with bureaucratic graft, and which pile up a deficit of over a billion lire annually. But this is about all the *laissez faire* Italy can afford, for the so-

called industrial crisis, judging by the number of monthly business bankruptcies, has to reach its culmination.

INDUSTRY AND FAVORED FINANCE

One of the most important steps taken by Mussolini was that which abolished the Commission of Inquiry on War Expenditures, which was suddenly ordered to report to the King before Dec. 31, 1922, and the members of which were warned that any publication of its findings would result in at least six months of imprisonment and a minimum fine of 5,000 lire.

The suppression of this commission has underlying industrial causes and is related to the warfare between two great financial groups. In Italy four banks take the lead in promoting industrial activities, viz., the Banco di Roma (Catholic), which supplies rural credit and which helped the Government in the war against Turkey; the Credito Italiano, which abjures politics and goes in for the manufacturing of autos; and those two political meddlers, the Banca Commerciale Italiana, through which flowed German capital before and

since the war, which backed up the Giolittian bureaucracy in its maintenance of neutrality in 1914, and which invests in the silk and textile industries; and the Banca Nazionale di Credito (the revived Banco di Sconto which collapsed in 1921), manipulating much French capital and heavily interested in steel, shipbuilding and engineering works. The Banco di Sconto was controlled by the Perrone brothers, who, during the World War, by financing the Ansaldo Iron and Steel Company and other concerns, went in for the production of war materials. The Perrone interests are pro-war, pro-Fiumian, anti-Jugoslavian, pro-Fascist, pro-French, pro-imperialist.

The Banca Commerciale, secure and long-established in the profitable indigenous textile industry and in control of the governmental machinery, and fearing the efforts of the steel and automobile interests to create high protective tariffs, struck at the Credito Italiano through excessive luxury taxes on automobiles and at the Banco Italiano di Sconto by means of numerous post-war investigating commissions, chief of which was that to examine into the matter of war expenditures. According to the Directors of that bank and Ansaldo, this was responsible for the general financial collapse of these and allied corporations, though post-war conditions would have made this inevitable in any event unless it had been forestalled by governmental backing.

The Banca Commerciale Italiana people also tacitly supported the general strike in 1919 against the Peace of Versailles—the first serious labor blow at the inflated Perrone industries. It is intimated that Giolitti's "neutrality" at the time of the factory seizures was based on similar reasons.

The Perrone Bank fought back, taking advantage of the rising tide of national sentiment coalescing into Fascism; they bought up newspapers, *Il Messaggero* of Rome and its allied chain of dailies, subsidized the *Idea Nazionale* and other publications and started a publicity campaign recounting the patriotic services of Ansaldo during the war. The governmental drive of the Banco Commerciale, however, was successful. The Banco di Sconto was

accused of grave irregularities and misuse of funds, and collapsed. Its officials were placed on trial. When the Black Shirts swept into power, the Perrone brothers were banqueted by the Directors of Ansaldo with "Evviva i fratelli Perrone e Mussolini!" ("Long live the Perrone brothers and Mussolini!").

The Fascist counter-drive changed the complexion of affairs. The Perrone brothers promptly, publicly, enthusiastically announced their support of the new régime. It is understood that they have guaranteed Mussolini a billion lire with which to rehabilitate the railways, which at the end of the year are to be turned over to private management. In addition to suppressing the Commission for Investigating War Expenditures, Mussolini decided, "in view of the patriotic efforts of the Banco Commerciale di Sconto and the Ansaldo Iron and Steel Works during the war," to quash the charges against the officials of the bank and reinstall them in charge of the new Banca Nazionale di Credito. This will mean that Ansaldo, and the iron and steel industry in general, is put back upon its feet as part of the Black Shirt program of military preparedness.

REACTIONARY AGRARIAN LEGISLATION

The general results of the "let-live" policy struck most seriously at the peasants. Since the war there has been built up in Italy a body of enlightened agrarian legislation for giving the peasants land, destroying absenteeism and stimulating production. An Idle Lands law—the result of two years of practical study and an attempt to regulate the land seizures in Sicily—had been passed by the Chamber, though not ratified by the Senate. This was an enlightened law more far-reaching in its spirit of social good than those already in vogue in such countries as Bulgaria, Rumania, Jugoslavia, Mexico and other socially alert agrarian countries. One of the first acts of the new Fascist Minister of Agriculture, Signor de Capitani, was to abolish the existing decrees and blackball this law. "Under a free economic régime," he declared, "production will be increased." The proprietors (who live in Palermo, Rome, Paris, Lon-

don and other capitals) are to be permitted unrestricted liberty. In other words, they can again give the gabellotti (tax collectors) a free hand. This means that the peasant of Southern Italy is again brought back under the lash of absenteeism.

The parliamentary bloc of agrarian proprietors (twenty-five in number) who had earlier stated their purpose to be that of "conciliation between the Red and White elements" promptly dissolved itself, announcing that the bloc had "exhausted its duties and that each member should resume his post in whichever group he preferred, in order to give more effective aid to the work of the new National Government.

In the labor field Mussolini attempted to effect his plan of taking industrial and labor questions out of the hands of Parliament by creating a new technical Council of Labor and Production. This is hailed as Mussolini's great original contribution to the cause of industrial peace and progress.

It is, in reality, an efficiency reform of

previously existing agencies. The National Superior Council of Labor was instituted by the Zanardelli law of 1902 with advisory powers. Under Giolitti's Minister of Labor, Labriola, the council was divided into two sections, one for labor and commerce, the other for agriculture, the representatives to be elected by the proportional system directly from the association of proprietors (one vote for every hundred employers) and the federated unions (one vote for every fifty members). Beneducci, who succeeded Labriola as Minister of Labor, gave the council more extended deliberative powers and created a superior organ to settle conflicts between the council and Parliament.

Mussolini has definitely suppressed this old Superior Council of Labor, substituting for it the presumably original and epoch-making National Council of Labor and Production. This unified and substituted some seven commissions and bureaus; but its powers are to be limited—according to the preliminary announcement—to the right of proposing to the



Boys of the "Ballila" Section—an Italian counterpart of the Boy Scouts—in which they are taught the principles of Fascism

Government any reforms concerning capital and labor, or for the better functioning of industry; it is to furnish advice on all legal projects that interest labor and the various branches of production; and it will have investigatory powers.

THE NEW COUNCIL OF LABOR

The new council will have no organic connection with Parliament, though this is scarcely necessary so long as the dictatorship endures. It has no truly organic relation with either employers or employes. Proportional representation is abolished. Socialist and Communist unions are denied representation.

In the bosom of the council will function a permanent committee, and a Commission of Conciliation to settle differences between employers and employees whenever called upon to do so by the Minister of Labor or the interested parties.

The council proper is to be composed of three sections—Agriculture, Private Industry and Transportation and Commerce, Credit and Insurance. The Agrarian Section is composed of twelve representatives of the proprietors and farm-managers; six representatives of the small proprietors and cultivators; six representatives of wage workers, of peasants, small renters and the farm colonies, and six experts. The section for commerce, credit and insurance is made up of eleven employers, eleven employees and four experts. Six authorities on economic science and jurisprudence sit in an advisory capacity on all three sections. The Permanent Committee is to consist of eleven members (six employers, six employees, presided over by the President of the Council). On the Conciliation Commission workers and employers are also equally represented.

These various members are appointed by royal decree on the recommendation of the Minister of Labor in concert with the Ministers of Industry, Commerce and Agriculture, who must give heed to the suggestions of the principal organizations of workers and employers. The council will endure one year from the date of its creation, and then will be renovated on the basis of new rules for the appointment of members.

It remains to be seen whether Mus-

olini's power, at bottom based upon an extreme minority of personally loyal forces and lacking a broad economic or social foundation, can endure in a modern State. If it does endure, it is still too early to judge what use he will ultimately make of it, but it is to be doubted whether the dulling or popular initiative in this fashion can serve the cause of orderly progress.

FASCISM A BELATED REVOLT OF THE TRENCHES

Fascism itself represents a tendency much broader than the dictatorship of Mussolini would, at present, indicate. Fascism, at bottom, has been a belated revolt of the trenches and has been blind, ugly, sinister, idealistic, exalted. In method and thought it has not been able to rise above its muddied source. It represents a great outlet of emotion and bitterness. It is a vast disillusionment in political democracy and representative government as now organized, and on the other hand it is a disillusionment in the millennium of Communism. It is a nationalist reaction against the governmental and social chaos of Europe and of Italy. Theoretically it would establish a régime of efficient collaboration and solidarity in industry and in society. It is doubtful whether such a régime can be established by force any more than the world was made democratic by war. Actually Fascism is a turbid stream pitching down to the unknown sea of the future, the future not merely of Italy, but of Europe, and the course it will follow is neither direct nor previsioned.

Fascism has created the "new Italy" in an old, very old Europe—an Italy caught up in the vicious circle of isolated policy, depleted resources, financial bankruptcy, and expanding militarism; an Italy strangely imbued with a hierachal spirit of Prussian sun-worship, yet lacking the temperamental restraint and lacking both the organizing ability and the industrial skill to carry out successfully a policy of aggrandisement; an Italy which, in spite of all logic, intends sooner or later to batter on the closed gates of the Mediterranean. This is the new Italy, which only yesterday weltered in corruption, disor-

ganization and chaos, which today has found a new faith in the "right of the strong." For Fascism is backed by good bayonets and Fascism is a new weight flung in the balance of European politics. Some day, somehow, the electric, hazy,

mystic idealism of Facism may be salvaged. But at present the new Italy marks one more milestone upon the road toward the general decay of political democracy and the general disintegration of society and industry.

MUSSOLINI'S ATTACK ON LIBERAL GOVERNMENT

IN an article contributed to the April number of the *Fascista Review*, Gerarchia, extracts from which were published in The London Times at the end of March, Premier Mussolini launched a vigorous assault against the traditional acceptance of liberal institutions in government, with special reference to the policy of the Fascista Government of which he is the head. Signor Mussolini contended in this article that liberalism is not the last word in government. "The truth is evident to all who are unblinded by dogmatism that men nowadays are tired of liberty," declared the Premier. It does not follow, he implied, because liberal government has proved good throughout the past century that it is good for the present era. Liberty is not an end, but a means, and therefore must be controlled and dominated. No Government ever existed solely by the consent of the people without the employment of force. The Premier's views are plainly revealed in the following salient passages:

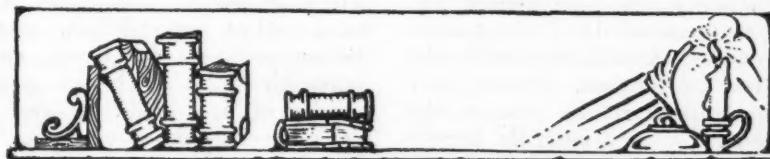
The great experiences of the "after-the-war" period mark the defeat of liberalism. Both in Russia and Italy it has been demonstrated that it is possible to govern outside, above and against all liberal ideas. Neither Communism nor Fasismo has anything to do with liberty.

If any Government is deprived of force and left with only its principles it will be at the mercy of the first group organized and determined to overthrow it. * * *

Liberty is no longer a chaste, severe maiden for whom generations in the first half of the last century fought and died. For the intrepid, restless youths who are now in the dawn of a new history, other words exercise a greater fascination, namely, order, hierarchy and discipline. * * *

Fascismo is not afraid to declare itself liberal or anti-liberal. It has already passed, and if necessary will again pass, without the slightest hesitation, over the body, more or less decomposed, of the Goddess of Liberty.

Voicing a similar tendency, Michele Bianchi, Secretary General of the *Fascista Party*, in a speech delivered at Milan on March 26, declared that the abolition of the existing electoral system of Italy was necessary in order that the country could be administered by a Government able to direct the life and labor of the nation for an extended period. The new Government, he believed, would have to grapple with the problem of altering the Constitution in such wise that the head of the Government, appointed by the King, would no longer be obliged to seek votes of confidence from Parliament.



GREEK DEFEAT IN TURKEY, AN ALLIED DISASTER

By M. TSAMADOS

Minister Plenipotentiary, Chargé d'Affaires of
Greece at Washington

*Failure of peace in Near East due to Turks' changed attitude
following the Greek defeat—Greeks and Armenians the victims
of victors' insolent dictation—Deporting Greeks by thousands
to obtain loot—Allied interests doomed in New Turkey*

ALMOST half a year has elapsed since the evacuation of Asia Minor by the Greek Army, and peace between the Allies and Turkey is still in the making. Unwelcome as this delay is to all concerned, it must be most vexing to the extremely articulate Turcophiles in Europe and in America who, by dint of reiteration, had erected into a religious dogma their pet theory that the presence of the Greek Army in Asia Minor was the only obstacle to the pacification of the Near East. M. Henry Franklin-Bouillon, for instance, who worked so hard to have this obstacle removed, must be sorely disappointed. After the Mudania armistice was signed he modestly claimed for himself the right to be numbered among the great peacemakers of history, a claim which, in the light of what has happened since, must appear somewhat premature. The sanguine expectations of the French politician and those who share his views were based on a misconception of the nature of the Greco-Turkish conflict, which was represented as exclusively concerning the two antagonistic races; a war of defense, as the Turcophiles contended, on the part of the Turks against Greek aggression, which culminated in the Greek landing in Smyrna. Hence their all too simple prescription—remove the cause of the conflict by driving the Greeks from Smyrna, and peace will be automatically restored. But what actually happened after the Greeks were driven from Smyrna? The Greek retreat left the Turks victorious not over Greece alone,

but over the great allied powers also. Hard as it may be on the pride of the victors of the World War, their interests in the Near East were closely bound up with the fortunes of the much maligned and despised Greek army. Its victory would have also been their victory; its defeat inevitably turned out to be their defeat.

Turkish policy was based on this larger and truer conception of the Greco-Turkish war. Greece was Kemal's immediate target because the Greek army was the most serious obstacle between the Kemalists and their ultimate aim—the defeat of the *victors of the World War*. It was because the Greeks felt that Turkish hatred embraced not only themselves and the Armenians but all Westerners, because they realized that they were shedding their blood and spending their money for something more than their own immediate rights and interests, that they claimed allied support irrespective of whether Constantine or Venizelos was ruling Greece.

Of the three allied powers England was the least hostile to Greece, yet even she was pro-Greek only in words, and strictly neutral in deeds. "Not a gun, not a shell, not a soldier, not a shilling, was voted to the support of the Greek enterprise," writes Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, a prominent member of Mr. Lloyd George's Cabinet, in reviewing his chief's foreign policy (Foreign Affairs, No. 3, page 81). The suicidal shortsightedness of French policy forcibly pointed out five months ago by the French Chamber of Commerce in Constantinople must not be quite patent to

the majority of Frenchmen. Italy's policy has been equally shortsighted.

ALLIES YIELDING TO VICTORIOUS TURKS

Half a year after the Greek withdrawal from Asia Minor the Allies are faced with the alternative of complete capitulation or another war with Turkey. They might have had peace immediately by accepting in toto that sacrosanct and awe-inspiring document, the Turkish National Pact. They did accept with easily understandable readiness those of its provisions which involved territorial sacrifices on the part of Greece. By their collective note of Sept. 23, 1922, they handed over Eastern Thrace to Turkey. Over the rest of the National Pact they have been engaged ever since in humiliating, protracted and, after all, futile negotiations. I say futile because the Turkish Government, while carrying on these negotiations, has been at the same time busily carrying out the policies embodied in the National Pact, which enthusiastic American admirers of Mustapha Kemal have compared to the Declaration of Independence, and which French exponents of Turkish nationalism have revered equally with the Declaration of the Rights of Man.

No victors ever behaved with greater insolence than the Turks in their dealings with the Allies since the Greek defeat, which was hailed with enthusiasm in influential quarters in Paris, Rome and even in London. If the Treaty of Sèvres was dictated by the Allies, the Treaty of Lausanne, or whatever it will be, is being dictated by the Turks. And not only dictated, *but almost completely executed while it is still being negotiated*. When it is finally signed it will simply register the fait accompli created by the Angora Government through the integral enforcement of the National Pact and the full exercise by that Government of its newly discovered sovereignty. Only another war could redress the balance, so far as it can be redressed, and change the situation. But as another war is out of the question, the Western world will have to put up with the consequences of the triumph of Turkish nationalism, which to put it mildly, it has not stirred a finger to prevent. It is indeed a case of reaping the whirlwind with a vengeance.



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GREEKS AND ARMENIANS THE VICTIMS

The brunt of these consequences is naturally being borne by the Greeks and the Armenians, who for the last five hundred years have had to submit to repeated outbreaks of Turkish fury. The latest of these outbreaks occurred during the World War, which offered the Young Turks a splendid opportunity to carry out the policy of Turkification repeatedly formulated by the Committee of Union and Progress. The elimination during the war, through deportation and massacre, of 1,000,000 Armenians and 300,000 Greeks constituted a long stride toward the attainment of this sinister aim, embodied in the glib slogan "Turkey for the Turks." It was in order to prevent the complete fruition of these plans, and with a view to making amends for the past and offering real guarantees for the future, that the Allies

included in their war aims "the freeing of the populations subjected to the bloody tyranny of the Turks" (Allied note Jan. 10, 1917).

The main guarantee for the fulfillment of these pledges was the Greek Army in Asia Minor. Its victory would not only have proved beneficent for the Greeks of Turkey—though under the Treaty of Sèvres a million of them would still have been left under Turkish rule—it would also have insured the establishment of an independent Armenia—a solemn commitment of the Allies and one which the entire Christian world seemed anxious to see redeemed. As a result of the Greek defeat, however, these two peoples and a considerable minority of Circassians, instead of securing their promised freedom, have had to face complete extermination. By the middle of March, 1923, there were in Greece, according to official Greek statistics, 1,180,000 refugees, of whom 110,000 were Armenians, Circassians and anti-Kemalist Turks and the rest Greeks, of whom only 15 per cent. were male, the able-bodied men having been detained in Turkey. Of the 2,000,000 Armenians that lived in Turkey only ten years ago, there are not many more than 100,000 left within the Turkish frontiers of today. As for the Greeks, the half million or so left after their wholesale exodus last Fall from Asia Minor and Thrace are being forcibly ejected by the Angora Government in flagrant contravention of the Greco-Turkish treaty signed at Lausanne regarding the exchange of minorities.

This treaty, it cannot be too strongly emphasized, was signed by the Greek delegation with the utmost reluctance, and only when it became clear that the Turks were adamant in their determination to expel the last Greek from Turkey. If scrupulously adhered to by both sides, it would, in the main, remove from Greece about 300,000 Turks, who have already proclaimed their extreme unwillingness to go, to make room for about 1,500,000 Greeks from Turkey, the property left behind in each case to be appraised by a commission under the auspices of the League of Nations, and the surplus value to be charged against the country which, as a result of the exchange, is left in possession

of the surplus property. The reciprocal exemption of the Greeks of Constantinople and the Turks of Western Thrace was also agreed to.

DEPORTING GREEKS TO OBTAIN LOOT

The Angora Government has not even made a pretense of respecting this treaty. Without waiting for the prescribed machinery to be set up, it continued to deport the last remnant of the Greeks from the Pontus, the southern coast of Asia Minor, and the interior. These people, according to the testimony of Dr. Post and Dr. Murray of the Near East Relief, "are forced to choose between deportation to the far interior among hostile tribes or exile to a foreign land" and are transported in ships under conditions duplicating the "Black Hole of Calcutta." These conditions explain the unwillingness of the Turkish authorities to allow American tourists to take photographs of refugee camps in Constantinople. In most cases deportation is preceded by the disruption of families, all the men of military age being forcibly detained on account of their inability to pay the enormous taxes levied by a Government that is driving them from their ancestral homes and levied for the benefit of a country on which they will never set eyes again! As for their property, it is either sold for a song, to provide cash for satisfying the rapacity of Turkish officials, or just left behind, "abandoned," as the official Turkish phraseology gracefully expresses it.

According to statistics of the Angora Commissariat of the Interior, 249,775 Greeks, 84,511 Armenians and 65,571 other non-Moslems have departed from Constantinople and its vicinity since September last, leaving behind them property in houses and land valued at £143,081,923. These figures give but a faint idea of the enormous wealth left behind by the deportees and make it perfectly clear that the main motive back of the deportations is the lust for loot. By confiscating this property and selling it or parcelling it out before the Greco-Turkish treaty becomes operative, the Turkish Government will doubtless succeed in circumventing the specific provisions of

this treaty, which, if carried out, would force it to disgorge its ill-gotten plunder. And yet Angora has the effrontery to press for an indemnity from Greece, whose people are submitting to what is practically a capital levy in order to provide for the homeless and penniless refugees whose property, private and communal (schools, churches, hospitals and so forth), left behind in Turkey totals an aggregate value of hundreds of millions of dollars.

THE TURKISH PLEA OF "DISLOYALTY"

What is the excuse advanced by the Turks and their apologists to justify these cruel measures, the removal, by governmental decrees, of hundreds of thousands of people from the land of their fathers, the destruction of a civilization with a thrice millennial tradition, the obliteration of Greek influence from such centres of pagan and Christian culture as Smyrna, Constantinople, Trebizond, Caesarea? The alleged disloyalty of the Greeks; in the eyes of the Turks and the Turcophiles this is the crime for which the Greeks are receiving such summary and inhuman treatment. Those who are easily taken in by this flimsy excuse do not stop to reflect that this "disloyalty," which they so much condemn in the subject races of Turkey, is essentially the same state of mind which, under the more attractive name of "irredentism," they so much admired in the subject races of Germany and Austria-Hungary. The Armenians and the Greeks have never been more disloyal to Turkey than the Alsatians and the Poles were to Germany, or the Slavs, Rumanians and Italians to the Dual Empire. Let those who defend, on the ground of "disloyalty," the deliberate extermination of the Christians of Turkey reflect what their feelings would have been if before or during the World War Germany had massacred the Poles of Silesia and Austria had undertaken to "purge" the country of Czech disloyalty by massacring half the Czechs and deporting the rest to Russia! Public opinion would have been incensed, and rightly incensed, at such a measure; and yet this would not have been a bit more drastic or inhuman than what has been going on during and since the war in Turkey. Why this double

standard? Why this loud condemnation of the disloyalty of the subject races of Turkey by those who extolled and encouraged the irredentism of these races during the World War? Those Turcophiles in the allied countries and in America who inveigh against the disloyalty of the Armenians and the Greeks of Turkey should at least remember that it was mainly in the form of sympathy with the allied cause that this "disloyalty" manifested itself during the war. Five years ago these manifestations were a badge of honor. Why should they be a reproach and a stigma today?

WAR ON ALL WESTERN INFLUENCES

Turkish nationalism, however, is not content with the destruction of the Armenians and the Greeks. These two races, which lived in what the Turks are pleased to call their exclusive homeland 2,000 years before the Turks' appearance upon the scene, have been wiped out in the name of Turkish "freedom," Turkish "independence" and Turkish "national sovereignty." It is in the name of these same shibboleths that the potentates of Angora are now waging war against all Western influences in Turkey. No amount of glib optimism can conceal the fact that the economic and cultural interests of the West are confronted with the alternative of extinction or utter subordination and subserviency to an all-powerful Turkish State. The elimination within the last ten years of one-third of Turkey's most productive and progressive population has, in spite of appearances to the contrary, greatly restricted the sphere of activity of these Western interests, and the situation thus created is aggravated by the extreme measures of the Turkish Government.

That there was a great amount of injustice—not so much, perhaps, to the Turkish State as to the people of Turkey in the judicial and economic capitulations no student of the situation will deny. But to abolish these capitulations with a stroke of the pen, to refuse obstinately to substitute anything in their place, and to set about piling law upon law of a distinctly discriminative nature, reveals the determination of Angora to hamper and harass the economic and cultural inter-

ests of Western Europe and of America and ultimately to drive them out of existence. Foreign business houses are closing down in rapid succession under the stress of crushing taxation (30 per cent. of their earned income) and vexatious laws imposing the employment of Turkish personnel, the use of the Turkish language and the placing of guarantee deposits in Turkish banks. The cessation, since last Fall, of payments to bondholders of the Ottoman debt and the prohibitive customs tariff, which has been in force since Nov. 2, 1922, cap the climax. M. Louis Rouboux estimates in *La Revue de France* of March 1 that French imports into Turkey have been reduced within four months by 45 per cent. and concludes that "the Turkish market has been closed to French commerce" as a result of the new tariff policy of Angora. "Modern Turkey is not sentimental," mournfully observes this French writer. Even M. Franklin Bouillon must now realize that Turkish nationalism cuts both ways: it does not respect economic interests any more than it spares Greek and Armenian lives.

DOOM OF FOREIGN COMMERCE AND EDUCATION

Foreign cultural influences in Turkey are equally hard hit by the extreme nationalism of Angora. Western business men who have been settled for generations in Turkey and who have been the real carriers of their respective civilizations, are fast giving up the game; and the cultural loss involved in their elimination will not be made up by the few monopolists and concession hunters who are coming to terms with Angora.

But a more serious blow is being struck at Western influence through the restrictions imposed upon the foreign schools. The law providing for the teaching of Turkish history and geography in the Turkish language by instructors selected by the Turkish Government will place the foreign schools under the control of the Turkish State, and will deprive them of what has so far been their greatest asset—academic freedom. The vast major-

ity of students in these schools, especially in the American schools, have been Christians, not only Turkish Christians, of whom there are now but very few, but also students from Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania and South Russia. It is doubtful whether the young men of these various nationalities will continue for instance to attend Robert College (where the Turks have so far constituted a little over one-tenth of the student body), when the instruction in the most important subjects is controlled by the Turkish Government. Deprived of their academic freedom, the foreign schools in Turkey will either have to close, as many French schools have done already, or consent to become the tools of the Turkish State, an enormous concession which may ultimately lead to their dechristianization.

The conclusion from this exposition of the main consequences of the Greek defeat is inevitable—the *larger interests of the Western world in the Near East are interdependent; they stand or fall together*. If the French and the British had realized this truth a year ago and acted upon it, Syria, Mesopotamia and the entire post-war fabric of the Middle East would not now be exposed to the perils of Turkish aggression, and the American schools in Turkey would not have to sacrifice their academic freedom and completely change their character in order to be suffered to exist.

No country has suffered more from the blindness of the Western world to this elementary truth than Greece. She is at least entitled to the sympathy and active support of her allies in the World War when she is now making strenuous efforts to cope with the disastrous consequences of her military failure. Encouraged by the generous support of America, the Greek Government and people are determined to secure peace, and are bending every nerve to solve the tremendous problems of reconstruction with which they are confronted. In the successful solution of these problems the Greek Nation feels that it will achieve that which it values more than all material gains—its moral vindication.

THE DOCTOR'S SERVICE TO HUMANITY

By RAY LYMAN WILBUR, LL. D.
President American Medical Association; President Leland Stanford University

Invaluable service to the world in preventing and controlling typhoid, cholera, yellow fever, tuberculosis, and other parasitic diseases—Human life saved and prolonged by scientific modern methods—Physicians as guardians of the race

MODERN medicine is becoming so efficient in many fields that its results are constantly being questioned or ascribed to other agencies. This phenomenon will be more and more in evidence with the inevitable decrease of disease due to the numerous applications of increasing medical knowledge. The man benefiting by the skill of a physician who has made a prompt diagnosis and performed an early operation for an abscessed appendix, and who in consequence recovers easily and rapidly, is much more apt to wonder whether the operation was necessary than is the man who recovers by the barest margin from general peritonitis caused by a ruptured appendix, operated on when pus drainage is all that can be done. The ever-increasing efficiency with which our modern sufferings are mitigated, indeed, will make us less appreciative of the woes and miseries of those who lacked the benefit of modern knowledge.

Such an article as that by Mr. Fred C. Kelly, "Is Better Health Due to the Doctors?" (CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, April issue) is a good illustration of what modern medicine is apt to mean to those who lack scientific training and who, even though making the gesture of being fair, have closed their minds to fact. There is the usual confusion between sanitation, which is merely applied preventive medicine, and the work of medical men, and the usual and familiar idea that all doctors are simply pill, potion and serum givers. While the treatment of the sick

and injured human body has gone on since man first got up on his hind legs and threw rocks at his enemy, it has been only a short half century since the broad basis of modern scientific medicine was laid. Great numbers of observations had been made and great skill acquired by members of the medical profession, but it was only when Pasteur demonstrated that many of our most troublesome diseases are due to the growth and development within our bodies of various parasites that we began to know the why of disease. The typhoid bacillus is a human parasite just as much as is the tape worm. We have to know how to avoid water polluted with the discharges of typhoid patients just as to avoid infected pork. If we boil or treat with chlorine or other chemicals water containing typhoid bacilli, we kill them and can drink the water, just as we can eat with safety contaminated pork if it is thoroughly cooked.

PREVENTING DISEASE

Better health is due to the doctors, because they have discovered and introduced facts regarding the recognition and prevention of disease into ordinary life. Certainly it is more to the credit of medicine that Chicago can drink its treated lake water without fear of typhoid than it would be to discover some method that gave relief to typhoid patients already the prey to that disease, although this is itself a matter of great human importance. It is surely even a greater triumph to be able to use an anti-typhoid vaccine and make

millions of men practically immune to typhoid and thus preserve them during the exigencies of a war. No one can legitimately deny the demonstration given to the world of the efficacy of anti-typhoid vaccine as illustrated by the comparative figures cited by Mr. Kelly himself, i. e., the 51.89 typhoid rate per 1,000 of the Spanish War, and the .37 rate per 1,000 of the World War. Naturally the rate of typhoid has been dropping in the civilian population since the public health authorities effected protection of our water and food supply from the excreta of typhoid patients. Civilized man has stopped drinking the discharges of other patients because the doctors have taught him to, as they have taught communities how to control the distribution of these living agents.

A short time ago the man at the pumping station of one of our California towns, who thought he knew more than the doctors, because of a mechanical difficulty, sent water for a few hours from the Sacramento River directly into the mains, instead of through the filter and treatment beds. As a result there was an epidemic of typhoid and several deaths. The laws of nature are sure and dependable. All the typhoid bacillus needs is the chance to get inside of an unprotected human being where it can multiply and cause disease.

Every time a doctor prevents disease he prolongs life. Back of all preventive medicine lies the diagnosis of the doctor. The great reduction of typhoid fever made possible by modern medicine brings about a great volume of better health. It is not only the reduction in the loss of time and number of deaths of those actually sick with typhoid, but more important still is the saving of thousands of human bodies from the harmful effects of disease. The poisons generated in the body by the typhoid bacillus and many other organisms damage the blood vessels, kidneys, heart, liver and nervous system. Though recovery may be complete, usually a handicapping injury is left behind, increasing the danger when a new strain comes and thus shortening life.

What has been said of typhoid and its control applies to many other diseases that come from living human parasites, such



Harris & Ewing

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as cholera, typhus or jail fever, smallpox, malaria, diphtheria, tuberculosis, and so forth. There is no magic about modern medicine, even though hysteria is relieved at times by dramatic monkeyshines or knotted strings. The modern doctor fights with facts. Human suffering is so potent, and our knowledge still so incomplete, that our methods are often inadequate, and we have to learn, as man always has, by trial and observation, combined with clear, unbiased analysis and judgment.

SAVING HUMAN LIVES

It is true that there are many critics of the doctor in the medical profession. All doctors are human, and some are more credulous than others; but there are no real critics of modern scientific methods and the great results achieved in prolonging human life and increasing human happiness. About us on all sides are

those saved by trained human skill. It seems, however, to be inherent in a certain percentage of our people to question any achievement of a doctor or of the profession of medicine. Such people can understand that an arsenic spray will kill the parasites on an orchard tree, but seem unable to appreciate that salvarsan, an arsenical preparation, when injected into a human body harboring the living spirochaeta of syphilis, kills all or most of them. They would not consider the spraying of the trees a failure if a few moths did hatch out and spoil a few apples, if the main crop was saved, and yet, unless salvarsan works 100 per cent. every time and kills every spirochaete even in the most protected parts of the bones or brain, medicine is alleged to be a failure and it is asserted that there are no certain cures.

Diabetes has shortened life and made great unhappiness for many millions of the human race. Modern knowledge of the proper diet, combined with the use of a newly discovered substance known as insulin, will add a great volume of positive human health. Insulin supplies from the organs of domestic animals that substance lacking in the sufferer from diabetes that makes it possible to burn or use up the sugar manufactured by the digestive processes of the body. Like all effective agents, too much will be expected of it, and it will take years of careful observation to know just how to get from it the maximum service. It will fail at times, but that does not mean that it is a failure.

Life in all its intricacies does not seem to work with the sureness of the law of gravitation. This is because we cannot as yet get all the facts. It is because the doctor deals with life, that of his patient and that of the community, and with the lives of a great number of parasitic organisms, that he must expect at the best to get only high percentage results. Life varies, and the fight between two living organisms at any given time is always under varying conditions. Four people drink milk containing virulent typhoid bacilli. One escapes, because he has a large amount of the natural hydrochloric acid in his stomach, and it kills the organisms. The next has already had

typhoid, and his body knows how to kill off the invaders. The third has had his body taught to kill them off by being vaccinated against typhoid. The fourth permits them to pass alive from the stomach into the intestine. He has no specific defenses; the bacilli find warmth and food and begin to grow. When there are enough of them he sickens, and may die. Modern medicine saves him from the disease by keeping his food and drink clean, and if he nevertheless acquires the disease, increases his chances of life by proper care during his illness.

The whole fallacy of Mr. Kelly's article is illustrated in his statements regarding yellow fever. He thinks that doctors are concerned only with individual treatment of patients, and that it is no longer a success of the doctor when disease control becomes what he dubs "sanitation." The organism causing yellow fever is on its way to join the dodo bird because doctors discovered that its life habits made it susceptible to attack. It has to live in a certain mosquito and then in a human being. Break the chain and it dies out. The primary requisite is to have medical men who know how to diagnose the disease, then to screen the patient from mosquitos, and finally to reduce the mosquitos. Doctors and not engineers made the building of the Panama Canal an actuality.

INCREASING HEALTH AND LONGEVITY

The doctor must primarily be a diagnostician, and he must know the early manifestations of disease to protect his patient and the community. The doctor is honestly striving to do his best. Like all human beings, he is not and never will be uniform. Other human beings with varying conceptions of life, varying amounts of knowledge and varying religious beliefs will continue to look up to him, or down at him, or askance at him. But none can sanely deny that his services in the aggregate have brought about better health, more comfort and longer life. Those who have had the benefit of anesthetics rarely scoff at them. The man or woman whose life has been saved by modern surgery usually has a deep appreciation of what surgical skill means.

It is easy for those unfamiliar with the great day-by-day services of the medical profession in practice and in research to scoff at their failures and to ascribe their successes to other agencies. The doctor lives in an atmosphere of suffering that is the most constant incentive to seek for relief for his patients in every possible way. Many expect the impossible from him. As Oliver Wendell Holmes said in 1872:

The physician would have been held only second to the Deity, had he not too frequently disappointed the expectations of those who were ready to worship him. This always was, and always will be. The children of Israel complained that they had to make bricks without straw; the physician has to make bricks without clay. Many of the patients that come to him had never any physiological right to live at all. They are not much nearer to the true human pattern than that same starved Justice Shallow, who was like a man made after supper of a cheese-paring; when he was naked, for all the world like a forked radish. And they come complaining that they are not in condition to run ten miles within the hour, or fight the champion of the heavyweights for the prize belt. It has taken a dozen sickly generations to breed them down to constitutional invalidism, and they want a pill or powder to set them all right again. Or they come to the physician at 50 or 60, wrecks of fine constitutions, got up originally without regard to expense, but burned out with strong drink, and browned to the marrow with narcotics and nicotines, and want back the virginity of their sodden and corrugated tissues. Or, it may be, some desperate and violent malady has stabbed them to the death; and, because no one has seen a hand with a poniard in it, the patients or their friends think that some drop or potion will undo the mortal effect of the invisible dagger stroke.

GUARDING THE RACE

Mr. Kelly makes a fundamental mistake when he urges that public health problems should not be entrusted to medical men. When those without scientific and

professional training make or administer the public health laws we are bound to suffer. Only those familiar with biological rules can be trusted. It is as unsafe for a community to build a bridge without the authority of a trained engineer to approve the plans, as for a community to make health laws without using the authoritative knowledge of the doctor. It is dangerous to ignore facts, and the penalty is unescapable.

Our whole future security as human beings living collectively depends upon our proper relationship to all of those factors that maintain, guard and foster life. The services of the modern doctor are vitally needed at every point because he knows most about the rules of life. Unless we follow these rules we perish. In so far as we have discovered these rules and followed them our lives have been enriched and lengthened.

The present professional training of the physician is the most severe mental discipline offered by our universities. This has to be because of the great body of information now available for human welfare and the imperative need of further research to permit an ever-widening scope for medicine. When one views the massive accomplishments of medicine to date, in spite of great inadequacies of knowledge, the future is indeed full of new encouragement. I venture to state that if the people of the United States were willing to avail themselves fully of what is now known of the control of diseases and the care of the human body, and would spend as much for this purpose as they do for the protection of the Republic from outside prospective enemies, we could ensure an average additional increase of ten years to the span of human life.



AGONY OF THE JEWS IN HUNGARY

By BERNARD G. RICHARDS
Secretary, American Jewish Committee

Unprecedented and barbarous anti-Semitic campaign carried on by military organizations at the instigation of political and clerical reactionaries—Plunder, torture and death of daily occurrence

FOR many decades anti-Semitism was practically unknown in Hungary, so that its sudden advent within the last two or three years and in such a virulent form has come as a terrible shock to the Jewish inhabitants. "The Puzzle of Hungarian Anti-Semitism" is the subject of a striking discussion by B. W. Segal, a European journalist, who recently wrote from Budapest: "How can we explain this anti-Semitism, awakened in the last three years in a country which had, up to that time, more than all others, been so free from it? In spite of the close proximity of Berlin and Vienna—which are the chief centres of modern anti-Semitism—in spite of all the attempts to transplant it to Hungary, this country resisted throughout. Nowhere were the merits of the Jews so unrestrictedly acknowledged on account of their improvement of the material and spiritual culture of the nation as in Hungary. The Jews there had assimilated with the Magyars to a much greater extent than anywhere else. In 1917, the Hungarian Jews celebrated the fiftieth jubilee of their emancipation, and on this occasion it was emphasized unanimously how bravely the leading men of the Magyar nation—Lajos Kossut, Count Sechenyi, Ferencz Deak, Count Andrassy and all the others who in the period of 1848-67 led public opinion in Hungary—fought for the equality of rights of their Israelite fellow-citizens. The Jews showed themselves grateful and became the main support of Magyardom in the combat against the nationalities. There did not exist a Jewish question in Hungary. So it was unanimously maintained by the Jews and non-Jews alike."

Hungary was the first state in Eastern Europe to have a Prime Minister of the Jewish race, and Dr. Vilmos Vaszonyi, the highly-esteemed parliamentary leader, made an enviable record in public life. In his capacity of Minister of Justice in 1917, he formulated the new electoral laws. Other men springing from the Jewish people won distinguished positions in public life. Writers of Jewish origin, from Josef Kisch, the most famous lyric poet of Hungary, to Franz Molnar, the playwright and novelist, have adorned the pages of the country's literature. Celebrated Hungarian writers, from Ptofi, the poet, to Jocai, the novelist, have paid tribute to the devotion and valued services of the Jewish citizenship. Great scholars like Vambéry and Goldzieher, both belonging to the Jewish race, have added to the intellectual standing of the country. The mass of the population took pride in the achievements of these men, as well as in the achievements of men from other races who adopted the Hungarian citizenship—for Hungary drew heavily upon other peoples for artistic and intellectual sustenance—and the hostile spirit of anti-alienism was a thing practically unknown.

Now, not only the "awakening Magyars," the banner-bearers of anti-Semitism and race hatred, but also larger social circles, and even representatives of the Government, look upon the Jews as aliens and outcasts, and a series of persecutions and discriminations has been inaugurated which forms one of the blackest pages of recent European history.

Extravagant charges, as grotesque as any that were contained in the forged and farcical "Protocols of the Elders of Zion,"

have been circulated to justify the discriminations introduced and the various acts of injustice committed. Much, of course, has been made of the slight Jewish participation in the Revolution of 1919, and the conspicuous rôle that was played by several non-believing or non-Jewish Jews has very strangely obscured the substantial achievements of leading Jewish citizens who have stood by the existing social order and of the large numbers of men of the Jewish faith who have done so much for the industrial development and growth of the country. That the Jews overthrew the Monarchy and introduced Bolshevism in the land during the four months of upheaval, is a fable which could perhaps be clothed with some credence for some native tribes of far-off lands. Observers on the spot, however, who knew the conditions were not easily to be persuaded that a population of 400,000 could upset the social order of some 14,000,000 inhabitants. Even if, as one writer points out, all the Jews had been Bolsheviks and all the Magyars anti-Bolsheviks, we would have had the amazing spectacle of three Jews violating and subduing about 100 Magyars in order to introduce the alleged Jewish Bolshevism so much hated by the Magyars.

As to the participation of the Jews in Hungarian Bolshevism, of which one hears frequently, Robert Tarcali, in his book, "Quand Horthy Est Roi" ("When Horthy Is King") (Paris, 1922), says: "Three years have passed since the fall of Bolshevism, but to this very day, thanks to the system of Horthy, Friedrich, Karl Huszar, Bethlen, to be a Jew signifies to be Bolshevik. The anti-Semitism of the present Hungarian Government is not an end, but a means; by persecuting the Jews the aim is to root into the consciousness of the people the idea that Bolshevism is of Jewish origin. In this way, it is hoped that Bolshevism will be destroyed."

WEAPON OF RACE HATRED

Hungary has before this made use of race hatred for reactionary purposes. Before the conclusion of peace, the Hungarians intrigued against the Slavs and the Rumanians. At the present moment, since Hungary, smaller in consequence of the war, counts only Hungarians and Jews

among the inhabitants, this policy of race hatred is directed solely against the Jews, who are persecuted and molested in every possible way. Veritable pogroms are organized. Let it suffice to mention the pogrom of Keskenet, in the course of which several hundred Jews perished. As time passes anti-Semitism grows, poisoning the whole life of the country. The Hungarian army does its utmost to cultivate hatred of the Jews among the Hungarians.

Although the true Bolsheviks have left the country or have long since been condemned by councils of war, Jews continue to be arrested and charged en masse with Bolshevism. Budapest is divided into sections, each in charge of a military chief. Nightly sorties are made into the Jewish quarters and Jews permanently disappear. There are cellars filled with dead bodies. Deepest fear has imposed silence upon every one. In broad daylight Jews are beaten and molested in the streets; their shops and houses are systematically pillaged. Jews do not dare to travel in railways, where they are exposed to nameless outrages. The Chief of Police of Budapest issues an order in which he enjoins his assistants not to take steps against the pogromists, but to aid them to escape. He also advises against killing Jews, in order not to draw upon Hungary punishment by the Entente, but the police are obliged to address petitions to the National Assembly to drive all Jews from the country.

The University of Budapest posts a notice: "Dogs and Jews are not allowed in the University." Until now only a few hotels have been permitted to post notices of this kind. The University of Budapest is the first institution of learning that practices anti-Semitism in this barbaric form. So-called Hungarian intellectuals, students camouflaging as officers, practice Jew baiting. Due to them the University of Budapest was closed, for they announced that they would not tolerate there either Jewish professors or students. The Minister of Public instruction promised to fix a maximum number for Jewish students, but this did not satisfy the Hungarians. As there are many Jewish professors at the University of Budapest, their exclusion would make all regular instruction impossible.

RANSOMS EXACTED BY OFFICERS

Worse still: On Dec. 13, 1919, a steamer was stopped at the station Gonyu and searched by a military detachment. All the Jewish passengers on board were forced to disembark, whereupon they were hanged in the forest near Gonyu. Not one of them was a Bolshevik; they were all merchants traveling on business. As a matter of fact, the Hungarian officers of noble birth pursue Jew baiting simply for rapine. The corruption of the Hungarian officers and officials has become proverbial. They invent accusations so that they can immediately extort large sums from their victims. Rich Jews are liberated after having paid a large ransom; the poor are shot. The Prime Minister solemnly declared that his Government would pardon all who would return to the national idea, but that it would exterminate whosoever dared to attack the Hungarian idea and the "National Christian" system.

Since the Jews cannot be forced to declare themselves partisans of a system specifically Christian—old Hungary even having recognized freedom of conscience and equality of citizens without distinction of creed—the situation of the Hungarian Jews becomes unbearable. They had a ray of hope before the 1920 elections to the Constituent Assembly, but as these were held under a régime of unprecedented terrorism, one cannot speak of free elections. No party, with the exception of that of the Government, dared to plead its cause. As a result, the Socialist, as well as the greater part of the Democratic and Liberal bourgeois parties, took no part in the elections. This circumstance explained the result in the capital, which has always had a Liberal or Democratic majority; this time Budapest elected reactionaries.

Horrors are still raging against the Jews in Hungary, surpassing anything the human mind can imagine. Jews, whether Hungarian, Galician or Russian, are pursued like wild deer, in the railways, in the streets, in the hotels. They are killed without any one intervening to protect them or to arrest and prosecute the criminals. To what extent the authorities are implicated in these acts, or at times actually order them, are questions which cannot be answered with certitude. On

the other hand, the authorities may deny complicity, declaring ignorance of the acts with which the military are charged; on the other hand, these same authorities receive complaints about crime and robbery, but not a single case is known in which the victims have obtained reparation for their injuries, or the criminals have been punished. It is beyond all doubt that the military, guilty of outrage and murder, enjoy complete immunity.

Spoliation of the Jews is accomplished in the following manner: Officers accompanied by soldiers enter railway trains and request the passengers to show their passports. The Jewish passengers are then compelled to alight from the coaches and follow the soldiers to the guard house, where there begins an inquisition, accompanied by curses and blows on the head. The soldiers are equipped with steel poles, or "matriques," on the end of which is a piece of lead. If the victim attempts to protest, the officer in command orders the soldiers to administer blows with their weapons. This torture lasts for hours at a time. In rare instances they release persons after having thus maltreated them, but generally they imprison them in the barracks for several days until the wounds heal. Meanwhile, they subject them to all kinds of annoyance and humiliation. Money, watches, jewelry, often articles of identification, disappear without the victim's being able to indicate the person who took them from him. The victim is warned, under threat of most terrible punishment, to reveal nothing of what has occurred. Very often he is forced to sign an affidavit testifying that he has suffered nothing. It is absolutely impossible for the maltreated person, deprived of all his possessions, to learn the names of the officers and the soldiers, since he risks paying for this curiosity with his life.

At Budapest army officers openly form associations whose aim is plainly the extermination of the Jews. Groups of officers, consisting of from six to ten men, stop people in the street, most frequently after 9 P. M., and command the Jews to follow them into the barracks or into the hotels where the officers live. There scenes are enacted similar to those described, with this difference, that the per-

sons arrested are detained for weeks, undergoing tortures and daily castigation. When any one succeeds—by buying over his keepers or arousing their pity—to inform his relatives or the authorities, and when the latter arrive to obtain information, the officers categorically deny the presence of the person in question. Thereupon the prisoner is transferred to another place of detention, so that the authorities are never able to learn where he can be found. The officers destroy every trace in the records, the result being that the fate of the prisoner depends solely upon their will. When the victim does not succeed in eluding the officers, he is discovered a month or two later in the concentration camp of Hajmasker, where he has been forced to sign an affidavit affirming that he had been convicted of Communistic acts. If the prisoner succumbs to these tortures and his body is found, it is declared that he attempted to escape during his transfer and that he was killed in the pursuit. The few victims who succeed in escaping death generally refrain from making known to the authorities the tortures they have experienced, well knowing that the latter are in league with the terrorists, or are too impotent to come into conflict with them.

A STATE WITHIN A STATE

The sole incentive of these cruelties is the savage anti-Semitism of the military caste and of the clerical party. Pillage plays only a secondary rôle. It is a question here of a black "military terror" inspired by the anti-Semitic clergy. The frequency of terrorist cases and the boldness with which the criminals who openly form groups in the capital operate, forces us to the conclusion that there exists a State within the State, well organized for criminal activity, a State which recognizes neither law nor rights, and that Jews are surrendered hand and foot into the power of this secret organization. The groups constituting the organization have their seat in the barracks. Among them the most active and the most cruel are the groups of Hejjas and of Pronay. Up to now not a single act of terrorism has incurred the slightest punishment.

Robert Tarcali records the following instance among other acts: Madam Anna

Weisz, 35 years of age, a Czechoslovak subject, kept a little café in Serecseny, located near the Hungarian boundary. One day one of Horthy's officers, followed by four soldiers, requested her to come with them to the Town Hall, which she did without opposition. When she arrived there a captain in command accused her of giving information to the Czechs. Anna Weisz emphatically denied having done so. Horthy's two officers then forced her to write to her husband, asking for 200,000 crowns and saying that without that sum she would not escape with her life. Her husband sent the money demanded, but his wife was not given her liberty. Other letters arrived, asking for still larger sums of money. The husband gave all his money to save his wife, but as she was never liberated he applied to the authorities. Several days later the malefactors plundered and burned Weisz's home, he and his 8-year-old daughter perishing in the flames. Only his son succeeded in escaping to Czechoslovakia. The Council of War accused Anna Weisz of high treason and she was locked up in the prison of Szegedein. When she was restored to liberty, she was afflicted with a mental disease and had no teeth left.

This is not an isolated instance. The report of the British Labor Delegation to Hungary to investigate the "White Terror," otherwise referred to as the Wedgwood Commission, contains numerous instances of this kind, presenting many details too horrible to reproduce. From the first attacks upon the Jews, following the rise of the new régime, to the enactment of the "Numerus Clausus," excluding Jews from educational institutions and public offices, it has been one long, tedious and terrifying story of "man's inhumanity to man" in its worst manifestations. And this in spite of all the assurances that were given to the Jews when they labored and fought for the integrity of the country; and, despite also the guarantees for the protection of minorities contained in the Trianon Treaties, which the Hungarians pledged themselves to observe. Day after day there come new tales of horror. Throughout these sombre stories of cruelty, there echoes and re-echoes the same old question: "For how long are we doomed to endure these tortures?"

SARAH BERNHARDT'S PLACE IN HISTORY

By WALTER PRICHARD EATON

Author of "The American Stage of Today,"
"Plays and Players," and other works. Former
Dramatic Critic of The New York Sun

The Legend of the "Divine Sarah"—Bernhardt of less importance historically than other actors because of her temperamental deficiencies, reflected in the flamboyant emotionalism of her repertory—Dynamic egocentric genius commanding admiration, but not inspiring love

THE death of Sarah Bernhardt, at the age of 79, has removed not only from the French but also from the world stage one of its most famous and picturesque figures. Bernhardt had been for sixty-two years an actress. She had toured the United States eight times and South America and Mexico at least once; she had been around the globe to Australia; she had played even in Constantinople, where only one of her dramas ("Camille") passed the censor! After her early years, she made her first sensation by breaking away from the Théâtre Français in 1880, and having to pay a fine of 100,000 francs to gain freedom to make a fortune. She was popularly known as the "Divine Sarah." There was a dash, at least, of Barnum in her make-up. She knew how to be publicly picturesque, and she never let the public forget her. As year after year went by and she continued to act and tour, her indomitable will and vast energy giving her the aspect of perpetual youth, she became almost a legend. Her name was known in every village of the civilized world, and unlike so many players whose drawing powers lessen as they lose their freshness, hers never lessened. Late in life she lost a leg, but went on acting upon a wooden one, as if defiantly to show that her panther grace and lightning quickness of body were but minor features of her art.

When any person is so well known as this, so directly comes into the consciousness of people, it would seem that the re-

sultant influence must be great; in other words, that the person in question would be a maker of history. Few actors, however, are of historic importance, and Bernhardt was of less importance than many perhaps humbler players of her own day. But it is historically important to substantiate and record this judgment.

When I say that the actor is seldom of historic importance, I neither mean that he does not perform a useful function in his generation, nor that he fails to live in the memory of playgoers. I mean that, because he is the interpreter of the dramatist, his influence is largely limited to the material he has to work with, and in the long run it is the dramatist who must be counted as the man who changes the national viewpoint or deepens the national culture. There are exceptions, of course. An actor may take a character, let us say, out of the national folklore, as Joseph Jefferson took Rip Van Winkle, and by giving it theatrical life deepen the sense of national background. Or an actor, by his devotion to certain types of what we call classic drama, may greatly aid in preserving the essentials of sound taste, as Booth did in a time of national, moral and esthetic let-down after the Civil War. Or an actor may aid and encourage a new type of drama, and so definitely further the evolution of literature, as Mansfield did by producing the early plays of G. B. Shaw. But Sarah Bernhardt did none of these things. Unique as was her personality, her technique of acting was tradi-

tional. For the most part, she left the classic drama alone as unsuited to her, and left quite alone the new drama of realism and sociological import which rose to influence in her active lifetime. She gave over her magnificent talents to the impersonation of the flamboyant and theatrical heroines of the artificial dramas of Sardou and his disciples. She was the high priestess of pasteboard emotionalism. As that sort of drama, in one form or another, has nearly always flourished in the theatre, and probably always will, its priests and priestesses have done little to affect the current of human history.

Sarah Bernhardt was born in Holland, probably in 1844, of humble Jewish parents. According to her own account, she ran away from home at the age of 14, to Paris, where she was educated in a Gentile convent, between periods of running away from that haven, also. An impetuous young person! At 17, she began to study for the stage, and during the sixties and seventies—a period of nearly twenty years—she was a member of the company at the Comédie Française, being trained in what was then without question the finest school of acting in the world. In 1880, she was violently attacked in a new rôle by Sarcey and other critics, and alleging that she had been forced to appear with insufficient rehearsals, she left the company, though it meant paying a fine of 100,000 francs and sacrificing her share of the pension fund. This was merely a spectacular opportunity to gain freedom. She was not ordained to be



SARAH BERNHARDT

The famous French actress as she appeared at the height of her artistic power and beauty

but one star in a constellation. In fact, she was less a star than a comet, and followed an orbit of her own. However, she was 36 years old when she broke from the Comédie; she was no young thing alluring the public with a pretty face. She had been through the whole French standard répertoire, and she had mastered the whole technique of acting. Jewish by race, but not brought up in the idealism of her racial religion, Parisian by training, but with an exotic Orientalism of imagination, even of person, as foreign in Paris as was Disraeli in London, she was at least out

and out French in her thorough respect for and command of the technique of her art.

The classic French drama demands a flexible and sustained elocution, and she had this, with a voice rich by nature and so well schooled that it never, to the very end, betrayed her, or even showed perceptibly the strain of weariness or overuse. The French public like to see the wheels go round; much less, even today, than other peoples, do they desire entire naturalness in acting. They want it to seem natural, while, at the same time, being heightened or colored to produce those emotional effects peculiar to the theatre. Bernhardt was a mistress of this very thing. She could be as natural as life, and at the same time supremely unreal, performing sheer theatrical "stunts." Finally, and perhaps above all, the French people ask of their actors a quick, keen intelligence, which can grasp the meaning of a character and its proper relation to the play, and then make every gesture, inflection, detail, fit the scheme. They brook no blurred outlines. They want all to be clear, logical and correct. And Bernhardt knew the proper trick of voice, or face, or gesture to make the various emotions effective, and had the quick intelligence to use them always at the right place, sharply, decisively. You knew always what she was about, and you knew that *she* knew. That sense of confidence in her, indeed, was one secret of her power. She never, from the moment she entered the scene, left anybody in doubt whether or not she was mistress of the situation. All truly great actors, of course, have this power, but with Bernhardt it was combined with a technical precision, a visible method, that was peculiarly French, and for that reason alone, if for no other, she will be remembered as an artist much longer in France than elsewhere. It was the most distinctively French thing about her.

Her long and vastly profitable association with Sardou began shortly after her break with the *Comédie*. When he fitted her with a rôle that gave scope to the most vivid side of her art (Fedora, I think it was), she wrote that he utilized all her good points, and would have utilized all her weak ones, if she had had any weak

ones! And she added that if she were not Sarah, she would most prefer to be Sardou. And what were these "good" points? Fedora seeks to avenge the slaying of her husband. In the process of snaring the murderer, she falls in love with him. Then, to save him from the police, to whom she has betrayed him, she has to seduce him to remain in her house all night. The actress is called upon to represent an avenging fury, but cold, calculating, deadly; then a woman consumed by "love" (we will call it that), tortured by fear, and forced to assume the wanton with the man she "loves," in order to save his life. Fury, vengefulness, desire, remorse, terror, seductiveness—those are the "good" points the play brought out. And much the same with *Tosca*, with *Theodora*, with *Cleopatra*, and the rest; even the lowly *Madame X*. In all the range of her parts, acted in her prime, there was scarcely one (unless we except *Magda*), which was modern, which was set in a play written actually to illustrate life, or which was heroic, tender or noble. She bent all her marvelous powers of impersonation to the creation of feline females who stormed, wept, pleaded, desired, were desired, stabbed, murdered, were wracked by excitements, in an unreal world, a world of paint and pasteboard. While Ibsen was making history with his social dramas, Sardou and Sarah were repeating over and over, flamboyantly, brilliantly, electrically to be sure, the stale stuff of romantic melodrama, and Sarah, for her part, was not even contributing a mock nobility. On that side, her art was strangely deficient. She could portray the woman desired, the woman desiring; but not the woman loved and loving. She could thrill you, but she could not warm your heart.

In 1900 she and Coquelin brought Ros-
tand's romantic dramas to New York. Her part in "Cyrano de Bergerac" was nothing. But as the little Duke in "L'Aiglon" she had a spectacular rôle. Here she was, a woman of fifty-five, acting the part of a boy. Maude Adams was acting it at the same time in English. Miss Adams was really youthful, and frail. Sarah was physically slight, but always suggested a dynamo, and she was fifty-five! Yet to compare the two performances would be

ludicrous. Alike in the mirror scene, and in the phantom battle, Bernhardt was electric. The very air tingled as the scenes began. What power! What perfect command of the emotions! What an extraordinary illusion of youth and weakness, conveyed by this woman who, at the same time, was putting forth a power that kindled fifteen hundred spectators to trembling excitement!

Yet, when the play was over, what did you remember best? It was Coquelin's old soldier, Flambeau. Without any effort at all, he walked into your heart. Here was one of Sarah's "weak points," which Rostand could not conceal.

The French stage today is, on the whole, the most backward in Europe. Bernhardt is certainly not to blame for that, but she did nothing to counteract the weight of traditionalism. When she toured the world, she left excitement behind her, the buzz of voices, and limp handkerchiefs among the more susceptible females. But she left no disciples. Duse, on the other hand, left behind, wherever she went, young players, pale before a revelation, their faces set toward the future and toward a subtler, truer art. Truth to tell, the world moved beyond Bernhardt, and she was probably the last actress—certainly for the span of our generation—who could find it possible to make a worldwide reputation by flamboyant emotionalism, however wonderfully executed, in plays for the most part without inherent truth or dignity or significance. In other words, she represented the peak, the flame point, of the theatrical theatre, when, as in the older opera, the arias were what mattered. That theatre has passed now, so far as the more intelligent public is concerned. Bernhardt lived into a new

order, an indomitable and picturesque priestess of the old.

Something, of course, was lacking in her character. Her iron will, her furious energy, her restless movings about, appealed to the admiration of the world, but they were not directed toward ideal ends. Their end was self. That was why noble, exalted, tender and truly self-sacrificing characters lay outside of Bernhardt's range, and why her sharp intelligence never grasped the drift of the world's drama. There was small place for her furious passions, her exotic outbreaks, her superb stabbings, in the drab dealings of modern life. So the world, and its drama, passed her by. She will long be remembered as a technical expert perhaps without a peer, as a dynamic personality who could capture you in the theatre and make you talk about her outside the theatre, and, in later years especially, as a heartening example of will and energy staving off all the traditional infirmities of age. But though she inspired curiosity, wonder, admiration, it can hardly be said that she ever inspired love, as so many other great players have, and hosts of other players not so great, and it cannot be said that either her acting or her influence on playwrights and producers has moved the stage one step forward. Rather has it moved in spite of her. The legend of her will be that of an exotic, picturesque and tremendously energetic personality, who represented the technical proficiency of French acting at its very highest, and who carried the nineteenth century flamboyant artificial drama, especially that of Sardou, around the world. Her achievement was great; she had undoubted genius. But it was the achievement of a person, not a principle. Therefore it has no aftermath but a memory.



WHY BOOTLEGGING FLOURISHES

By H. L. SCAIFE

Counsel to the Woman's Clean Government Organization

The difficulties of enforcing national prohibition in part due to the methods of the prohibitionists themselves—Graft in official quarters responsible for lax administration of the law—The necessity for pitiless exposure of bootleggers and their abettors

THAT the lack of enforcement of the prohibition laws has developed into a national scandal no informed person who cares to be frank can deny. With the exception that the failure of juries to convict and that petitions of Grand Juries to make the law less drastic are not general, the following is a true indictment in a recent issue of a wet publication:

Day by day the newspapers are full of reports of outbreaks, seizures and arrests; of the discovery of moonshine stills, and the enormous extent of home brews, home wine-making and distilling; of death from wood alcohol and poisoned whisky; of the great accumulation of liquor cases which are awaiting trial and are clogging the courts; of the failure of juries to convict, and petitions by Grand Juries to have the law made less drastic; of the corruption of officials; constant changes in the personnel of enforcement officials; tales of graft and bribery; and of the political control of appointments. The thing dramatizes itself so completely that it needs no press agent.

While the open and notorious violation of any law leads to demoralization and justifies the suspicion of graft or incompetency within the Government and the toleration of such conditions by those high in authority, prohibition cannot be justly charged with all of the disrespect for law which has been coming to the surface during the past few years. In fact, the National Prohibition act can prove an alibi for the reason that a low morale in law enforcement against high offenders was an existing condition when the law was enacted, but it is a matter of common knowledge that the flouting of prohibition laws

is now an important factor in such demoralization. War develops the worst traits of human nature, and wars are usually followed by periods of lawlessness, as well as social discontent. Rather than being the initial cause, the National Prohibition act was born out of time and at a period unfavorable to the enforcement of any law which attempted to regulate the habits of a large number of people. That respect for law was already declining without causing concern to those in high authority is aptly illustrated by the war fraud cases in which the offenders were immune until there had been protests in Congress and public sentiment demanded action.

The prohibitionists have not won their battle in the enactment of laws, no matter how full of teeth the laws may be, but the fight will be won when such laws are enforced and respected. However, to say that a law should be modified or repealed because it is violated would wipe out every moral and civil law established for the regulation of human conduct. Whether or not the present constitutional and Federal restrictions are to be the conclusion of the whole matter will be determined at the bar of public opinion, not by the propaganda of either of the contending forces, but on the pertinent facts developed, and in the end the drys must meet the issue, "Does prohibition prohibit?"

Taking the country as a whole and leaving out those areas where the law has completely failed, it would appear that a large majority is still in favor of prohibition, and there is no better barometer to indicate that this is the majority sentiment than

to watch the record and consider the readiness of practical politicians, who violate the prohibition laws, to talk and vote right. While the prohibitionists have the advantage of possession and are entrenched, if the law proves to be a dead letter public sentiment can and no doubt will rapidly change. If the present prohibition laws should be eventually modified or repealed, it will be on the ground that those who are morally responsible for their enactment failed to look after their enforcement. It is quite a different matter to work up public sentiment to the point of enacting laws on controversial subjects and to bring about a healthy public sentiment that will demand enforcement.

It is basically true and morally right that any law that is found to be impotent in controlling the evil at which it is aimed, after fair trial, should be amended or repealed. It is also true that the surest way to get rid of a bad, or supposedly unpopular, law, is to rigidly enforce it, and this presents a common ground on which the wets and drys can issue mutual challenges. More particularly does this challenge go forth to the prohibitionists, because these measures are their solution offered to the country and, if the laws of their authorship cannot be enforced, theirs will be the odium.

FACING THE FACTS

Assuming that if the prohibition laws are not satisfactorily enforced within a reasonable time the number of sponsors for prohibition will diminish, and, on the other hand, that if these laws can be made to prohibit, the cause of prohibition will be strengthened, we might as well lay aside all righteous desires and in a practical way calmly consider the facts. It would be better to circumvent defeat than in a leisurely manner admit it. When our ideas for solving a problem that has baffled the ages are crystallized into a sacred statute, we are apt to be deluded by the thought that in some way laws enforce themselves, or, perhaps, that some public servant is going to look after that part of the business, instead of considering the possibilities and probabilities of any question on which there are wide differences of opinion becoming

the football of politics and the real administration of the law a matter of bureaucratic interpretation and political control.

The activities of the wets in heralding flagrant and wholesale violations of the Volstead act may have led prohibitionists into the false step of attempting to offset what they considered wet propaganda by unwarranted claims in efforts to make a showing. Such a policy has greatly hurt the real cause of prohibition. Instead of warning the friends of law and order to be on their guard, the effect has been to lull them into a false sense of security. To issue misleading official statements is to destroy public confidence. While prohibitionists should be truthfully proclaiming from the housetops the wholesale and notorious violations of the law with which they have been unable to cope and be laying the foundation for the valid defense that present laws should not be modified or repealed until they have had an efficient test and fair trial, the unwarranted claims of enforcement have aided the situation in bad areas to get beyond control. The passing back and forth in the open of rum-running fleets, which once moved under cover, tells the true story.

Early last Fall when the bootleg kings, some of whom have been since indicted, were commonly known to be conducting extensive operations, the following was published by the press as the official statement of the prohibition unit: "Millionaire bootleggers are in the past. They were thriving a year or so ago, but now there are not any such things. * * * The bootleg business is languishing." Again, on Oct. 4, an official statement was given to the press by the Prohibition Commissioner that the office of the Federal Prohibition Director in New York State was in "excellent condition," although at the time the statement was made the office was being investigated by a Federal Grand Jury which shortly afterward reported that the office had been conducted in "an inefficient and disgraceful manner" and that "the office seems to have been made the dumping ground for influential politicians who secure appointments for their henchmen without proper regard for the qualifications of those chosen." Shortly after an official statement had been furnished

to the press by the authorities in Washington giving the New York office a clean bill of health the Grand Jury returned indictments against six of its enforcement officers and twenty-seven other defendants, charging them with conspiracy to violate the Volstead act.

As the Prohibition Commissioner is alleged to have been appointed through the influence of the Anti-Saloon League, not only will prohibitionists be held accountable for the enactment of these laws, but they have allowed themselves to be manoeuvred into a position where they will be held responsible and must accept the odium for lack of enforcement. Such a situation will naturally suggest the question: "If one of the leaders selected by the drys cannot enforce the laws of their own making, how can the enforcement of



ROY A. HAYNES
United States Prohibition Commissioner



Keystone

DAVID H. BLAIR

United States Commissioner of Internal Revenue, who is in charge of the enforcement of prohibition

any prohibition law be expected?" No doubt the Prohibition Commissioner is surrounded by insurmountable difficulties and is the enforcing authority in name, rather than in fact, as he is only a sub-official in the Treasury Department and has no control in making the regulations and in shaping the real policies, and it has been alleged that cases have been settled or compromised over his objections. There was strenuous objection on the part of the Anti-Saloon League to the appointment of Andrew W. Mellon as Secretary of the Treasury on the alleged ground that he had up to that time been largely interested in breweries and distilleries, and probably the best compromise possible was effected in the naming of Roy A. Haynes, said to be a dry to the manner born, as Prohibition Commissioner.

SECRETARY MELLON'S INTERESTS

There were also other protests made at the time of Secretary Mellon's appointment, and on Feb. 15, 1921, at a meeting of clergymen in Philadelphia, the following resolution was adopted and ordered sent to President-elect Harding:

The Executive Committee of the Federation of Churches of Philadelphia expresses the sincere hope that the President-elect will appoint to the position of Secretary of the Treasury, some one whose interests and sympathies will be in harmony with the enforcement of the Volstead act and the Eighteenth Amendment.

According to a Washington dispatch to The New York Times during that stage of the discussion, Mr. Mellon had been criticised for his ownership of distillery stock and that among his holdings was a half interest in the Overholt Distillery. The late Senator Penrose, who was sponsoring the appointment of Mr. Mellon, was quoted in The New York Times of Feb. 14, 1921, as follows:

All this has been well understood, and no interest will exist in the minds of the public because of the proposed change which will take prohibition enforcement from the Secretary of the Treasury and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue and place it under the Department of Justice.

It has been proposed, and I have no doubt that the proposition will be formally acted upon at a very early date, that the whole question of enforcing prohibition laws and regulations shall be transferred to the Department of Justice. It is primarily the duty of the Attorney General to see to the enforcement of laws, and as prohibition is in the nature of police regulation it is a matter that would logically and easily come within the duties of his office.

Should this change be made, and I, for one, sincerely hope it will be made as early as possible, the Secretary of the Treasury will cease to have any connection with the prohibition question, and immediately the Commissioner of Internal Revenue will be divorced from this task.

The signature which appears on the official document, of which the following is a copy, will show that it is not for the Prohibition Commissioner to dictate policies and to say where liquors are to be concentrated and what warehouses are to be selected:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

Office of Commissioner of Internal Revenue,
Washington, D. C.
September 5, 1922.

Pro-Mimeograph

110-Minograph
Coll. No. 3005

Concentrate

COLLECTORS OF INTERNAL REVENUE

**COLLECTORS OF INTERNAL REVENUE
AND OTHERS CONCERNED:**

The following warehouses are hereby designated as Concentration Internal Revenue Bonded Warehouses subject to complete technical qualification required of such warehouses. They will be designated according to serial numbers hereinafter set forth as to each warehouse:

*Warehouse No. 4. A. Overholt Company,
Broad Ford, Pennsylvania.*

* * * * *
D. H. BLAIR,
Commissioner.

It is not within the discretion of the Prohibition Commissioner to determine what public records shall be destroyed and what documents shall be preserved as evidence if they should be called for by the prosecuting authorities. On June 29, 1922, a joint committee of the two houses of Congress (House Report No. 1163, Sixty-seventh Congress, second session) favorably reported Secretary Mellon's request for permission to destroy as "useless files" a large quantity of "papers, documents, record books, &c.," and the following communication, carrying no mark of approval by the Prohibition Commissioner, is quoted from page sixteen of this report:

Treasury Department,
Commissioner of Internal Revenue,
Washington, April 19, 1922.
Memorandum for the Secretary of the Treasury.

Washington, April 19, 1922.
Memorandum for the Secretary of the Treasury.

Memorandum for the Secretary of the Treasury.
Having been advised that a supplemental

Having been advised that a supplemental list of papers, records, &c., which are not needed or useful in the transaction of the business of the Treasury Department, and have no permanent value or historical interest, may be submitted, I recommend that the authority of Congress be requested for the destruction of stubs of doctors' prescription blanks, Form 1403, original of which were issued up to and including June 30, 1920, and which have accumulated in the offices of the Federal prohibition directors of the various States since the national prohibition act went into effect.

The name of "S. H. Blair," which appears in the printed report, is presumably

intended for D. H. Blair, Commissioner of Internal Revenue. The report was submitted by Merrill Moores, A. B. Rouse and Alben W. Berkley, members on the part of the House, and Thomas Sterling and William J. Harris, members on the part of the Senate. Approval by a committee of a dry Congress of a request to destroy documents in a branch of the Government involved in a scandal seems to have been a matter of easy sailing.

After a man in high standing with the wet interests, who had himself been a distiller and one of whose trust companies is reported by Moody's Industrial Investments as being registrar for two brewery trusts owning thirty-one breweries, had been placed at the head of the Treasury Department, the suggested remedy of transferring prohibition enforcement to the Department of Justice was forgotten.

DIVIDED RESPONSIBILITY

One of the most serious handicaps in the enforcement of the national prohibition laws is the divided responsibility, which takes from the Department of Justice the detection of violations and places this function under the jurisdiction of the Treasury Department, where cases against enforcement officers who might be guilty of corruption are supposed to be worked up before the Department of Justice can act. This anomalous arrangement, together with bureaucratic influences and political domination which pervade so many Government departments, has had much to do with making prohibition a dead letter.

I believe that the enforcement of the prohibition laws would have had a fair trial if Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, Assistant Attorney General, who handles prohibition matters in the Department of Justice, had had a free hand. As it is, the initial step in the enforcement of the prohibition laws is divorced from the Department of Justice, and it is impossible for this department to control and direct the army of enforcement officers, with a view of conducting investigations and laying the foundation for successful prosecutions. To prevent the escape of influential offenders whose cases had reached the jurisdiction of the Department of Jus-



Harris & Ewing

MRS. MABEL WALKER
WILLEBRANDT

Assistant Attorney General, in charge
of prohibition matters in the United
States Department of Justice.

tice, about a year ago Mrs. Willebrandt issued orders that after a case had reached a District Attorney's office, it could not be dismissed for any cause until the matter had been passed upon by her office. Steps were also taken to prevent the framing up of innocent persons by political intrigues. In addition to this, the Attorney General has issued orders to United States Attorneys and others concerned, urging the necessity of expediting and properly handling prohibition cases.

The following is quoted from the report of Mrs. Willebrandt, which is incorporated in the annual report of the Attorney General for the fiscal year 1922, transmitted to Congress on Dec. 7 (pp. 82-84):

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1922, there were 34,984 criminal and 2,157 civil prosecutions commenced under the National Prohibition act in the various district courts;

28,743 criminal cases and 1,537 civil cases have been terminated in that period. In the criminal cases 22,749 convictions were secured, and there were 1,195 acquittals; 1,250 cases were quashed on motion or demurrer and 3,549 dismissed. The aggregate amount in fines and penalties imposed was \$4,041,456.03 in criminal cases. The aggregate amount in judgments obtained by the United States was \$120,255.29. There are 10,472 criminal and 2,694 civil prosecutions pending at the close of the year. The above figures cover only cases arising under the national prohibition act.

Since the Eighteenth Amendment of the Constitution and Title II. of the national prohibition act became effective Jan. 16, 1920, rum-running vessels of American and foreign registry, carrying liquor from foreign ports to our shores, have swarmed along our sea-boards, smuggling liquors into the United States in violation of our laws. Eighteen vessels of foreign registry and 11 of American registry with their cargoes of liquors have been seized.

The following is quoted from the annual report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue for the same period (p. 31):

At the end of the fiscal year 299 agents were assigned to duty on the force of general prohibition agents. During the year 2,036 cases were reported by the general prohibition agents, covering violations of every nature. Taxes in the amount of \$19,716,440.98 were reported for assessment. The cases covered investigation of breweries, distilleries, holders of the various kinds of permits, as well as violations by the illegal manufacture, sale, transportation, importation, and exportation of intoxicating liquors.

During the year a prohibition patrol service was organized consisting of six boats of the submarine chaser type, assigned at various points along the Atlantic coast. These boats have proved very effective in the suppression of smuggling.

In addition, there were placed on the Great Lakes five motor patrol boats which are capable of making 33 miles per hour. These boats have proved very effective in apprehending liquor smuggled from Canada.

On page 48 of this report it is stated that on June 30, 1922, the number of persons in the prohibition field service (including narcotic officers) was 3,074, and the following is quoted from page 29:

The number of employees in the unit in Washington increased from 503 at the beginning of the fiscal year to 596 at the close of the year. In the field during that time the force has increased from 1,818 to 2,881. The total force of the unit has, therefore,

increased from 2,321 to 3,477 in the last fiscal year. The total payroll of the unit on June 30, 1922, was \$6,045,073, an increase of \$2,015,943 over that of June 30, 1921.

The annual appropriation for the prohibition unit is approximately \$9,000,000 and Congress has been placing the responsibility for enforcement on the officials in charge by fully complying with requests for the necessary funds to enforce the law successfully. An examination of the statistics contained in the last annual report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue and the hearings before the subcommittee of the House on Appropriations do not clearly indicate to what extent the prohibition unit has been responsible for the cases which have been presented to the prosecuting authorities, but it would appear from the report that more successful efforts have been directed to the detection and prosecution of crimes under the Narcotic act, which it also administers, than those which have to do with the violation of the prohibition laws.

The statistics already quoted would indicate that during the fiscal year of 1922 less than one case was "reported by the general prohibition agents, covering violations of every nature" for each employee on the rolls of the Prohibition Unit. An examination of the report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, page 186, shows total disbursements by prohibition directors ("prohibition part") amounting to \$4,883,092.12, of which \$1,001,587.78 was for travel expense. The report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1922, filed Oct. 1, 1922, page 31, gives the number of cases reported by the general prohibition agents at 2,036, as already stated, and the following is quoted from the statement of the Prohibition Commissioner in the hearings before the subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations on Nov. 15, 1922 (p. 494):

Mr. Haynes—We feel, Mr. Chairman, very much gratified at the present functioning of our machinery. We have secured, for instance, in the fifteen months since we came into office, convictions totaling 20,483. That is for the fiscal year.

The Chairman—The fiscal year 1922?

Mr. Haynes—Yes, sir; ending last June. There were acquittals of 4,625; cases dropped,

3,217; civil cases disposed of during the year, 544; cases pending at the close of the year, 15,910; representing a total of 44,779 cases in the Federal courts. That is under prohibition only.

CONFICTING EVIDENCE OF VIOLATIONS

It is difficult to reconcile this testimony with the number of violations reported by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, or with the statistics quoted from the report of Mrs. Willebrandt, unless the Prohibition Unit claims credit for the work done by the Department of Justice in its usual course, and, in adopting its statistics, has made errors in transcription.

At the time of the indictment of members of the Racquet and Tennis Club of New York City, United States Attorney William Hayward was quoted by the press as stating that the prohibition enforcement authorities had cluttered his office with cases of small importance, but that by no chance did they ever give him information leading to the prosecution of persons of prominence. Referring to the indictment of the La Montagne brothers, who later pleaded guilty and were given prison sentences, District Attorney Hayward was quoted in *The New York Tribune* of December 30, 1922, as follows:

The indictments are self-explanatory. The first knowledge we had of this great conspiracy and the wholesale bootlegging operations under it came to Major Clark (Assistant District Attorney), a few weeks ago from a volunteer witness, and we simply followed the trail, even though it led to select circles and exclusive places. The office of the New York prohibition director had most of the facts the Grand Jury and my office have worked so hard to get as early as last June, but did not see fit to report the facts to me.

In cases against the small offenders the latest statistics of the Department of Justice available will show that during a period of eighteen months there have been approximately 27,301 convictions and jail sentences aggregating 2,045 years. In Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, New York, New Jersey, and in several other jurisdictions persons of wealth and influence have been convicted of violating the National Prohibition act and are now serving terms in Federal prisons. The results obtained in these cases, where the offenders no doubt felt that influence could prevent

their conviction, indicate that the National Prohibition act could be generally enforced against the leaders of the bootleg oligarchy where there is a plain intent on the part of officials to enforce it, and, provided the enforcement machinery is more properly co-ordinated and the enforcement of the act is placed in competent hands. The number of small offenders convicted means very little until the large offenders are reached and the big sources of supply are cut off. The statistics of the Department of Justice show that in the 28,743 criminal cases under the National Prohibition act terminated during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1922, the following were the percentages: Convictions, 79 per cent.; acquittals, 4 per cent.; quashed on motion or demurrer, 4 per cent., and dismissed, 12 per cent.

A chronology of the notorious violations of the prohibition laws disclosed by the newspapers during the past twelve months will present an appalling array of crime, and many of these cases involve the names of persons who had been regarded previously as law-abiding and respectable. The indictments returned against a number of enforcement officers connected with the New York prohibition office, after they had been officially whitewashed by the Prohibition Commissioner and Treasury officials at Washington, possibly marks a turning point favorable to the enforcement of prohibition in the Eastern States, but until those who are in favor of prohibition correctly apprise themselves of the true situation, the cause of prohibition is being jeopardized. The optimistic reports and forecasts which have been furnished to the press by the publicity bureau of the Prohibition Unit in Washington are shattered by President Harding's message to Congress on December 8, when he stated:

Let men who are rending the moral fiber of the republic through easy contempt for the prohibition law, because they think it restricts their personal liberty, remember that they set the example and breed a contempt for law which will ultimately destroy the republic.

Constitutional prohibition has been adopted by the nation. It is the supreme law of the land. In plain speaking, there are conditions relating to its enforcement which savor of nation-wide scandal. It is the most demoralizing factor in our public life.

In the same message the President further expressed his views, as follows:

The day is unlikely to come when the Eighteenth Amendment will be repealed. The fact may as well be recognized and our course adapted accordingly. If the statutory provisions for its enforcement are contrary to deliberate public opinion, which I do not believe, the rigorous and literal enforcement will concentrate public attention on any requisite modification. Such a course conforms with the law and saves the humiliation of the Government and the humiliation of our people before the world, and challenges the destructive forces engaged in widespread violation, official corruption, and individual demoralization.

The wholesale violation of any law is a challenge to society and the right of a nation to self-government. The mere fact that a law is treated with contempt does not justify its modification or repeal, which would admit a surrender to lawbreakers and establish the precedent that the way to get rid of a law is to ignore it. To repeal or modify the law before any considerable number of those who have flouted it and have enriched themselves through its violation are made to answer for their crimes, would be to admit the failure of Government and be an invitation to anarchy. If officials are permitted the dangerous privilege of selecting the laws that are to be enforced and of determining the individuals who are to be exempt from prosecution, such high-handed prerogatives would be tantamount to erasing the preamble to the American Constitution.

AN INDUCEMENT TO BOOTLEGGERS

Advancing the theory that enforcement of national prohibition is a matter of evolution and that it will require ten or fifteen years before there will be satisfactory enforcement, is in effect a suave invitation to persons seeking an occupation to embark in a safe and lucrative business. No nation, especially one with other perplexing problems, can stand up long under conditions of widespread official corruption and individual demoralization. If such theories are truly analyzed and are found to be correctly premised, they carry with them an undisclosed argument for the instant repeal of national prohibition.

When a large bite is taken, it naturally

requires a reasonable length of time to chew it. To use an expression of President Wilson when he vetoed the bill for national prohibition, any sudden measures "having to do with the personal habits and customs of large numbers of our people," will encounter difficulties, but there is no such thing as enacting laws that are to be gradually enforced. The only way to cope with the situation on the Atlantic seaboard is to make effective preparations to blow out of the water every rum-runner that can be attacked without international complications, and when two or three of them have been sunk, the bootleg barons will have a wholesome respect for the laws of the United States. About two years ago Judge John M. Killets of the United States District Court for the Northern District of Ohio, when charging a Grand Jury, said:

Our opinion, after an active experience of more than a year, is that the act can be easily enforced and the dignity of the law can be upheld, if there exists an intention on the part of the officers of the law to do their plain duty. * * *

It is the court's experience that the enforcement of any law is already half done when it is generally understood among the people that those who have an official duty to perform, propose to perform that duty unflinchingly.

If, when the prohibitionists had succeeded in placing their program on the statute books, the leaders had lobbied for enforcement instead of endeavoring to keep Congress lined up for future legislation, thus forcing a moral cause into the demoralizing arena of politics, in which one favor usually calls for another, their position would now be invulnerable. With prohibition in the Constitution and on the statute books, followed by a satisfactory record of law enforcement, no agencies in America could have brought about modifications or repeal. When it was known to prohibition leaders more than a year that plans were on foot to begin rum-running clandestinely, with Savannah as a base, and that politicians were involved, had the drys camped on the trails of the proper officials and demanded prosecution, this and greater conspiracies would have been nipped in the bud and the rum-running fleets now plying off the coast

from Halifax to Florida would not have felt encouraged to undertake violations boldly.

During a period from April 11, 1918, to Sept. 11, 1920, a large quantity of liquors seized by agents of the Government and stored in a warehouse in Washington was appropriated to the personal use of officials of the Department of Justice, and on May 18, 1922, the Federal Grand Jury at Washington reported as follows:

It further appears that certain representatives of the Department of Justice disposed of the liquor in various ways, viz., by appropriating it to their own use, by making gifts to relatives, friends, &c. * * *

Here is a case, however, presenting a most dangerous precedent wherein property has been seized by Government officials, without having a legal title of custody established by the Government, and the property disposed of by such officers or employes with the sanction and approval of those in higher authority at the time. Such conduct on the part of officers, agents and employes of the Government, especially those of a department charged with the administration of justice, is beyond our comprehension and cannot be too severely condemned.

Some of these men who have been charged with appropriating this liquor, seized by Government agents, to their personal use are still on the Government's payroll, and some of them are in responsible positions. A copy of the Grand Jury's report was placed in the hands of every member of Congress and the newspapers in Washington and elsewhere have published the facts. The Statute of Limitations has not expired and there have been no indictments, but if there has been any protest by any prohibitionist on or off the floor of Congress, or elsewhere, I have never heard of it. This case in itself is sufficient to make a test as to whether the demoralizing effects of law violation are to be tolerated.

It is not my purpose to belittle the good that the leaders and the rank and file of the prohibitionists have accomplished, but it is my intention to point out the practical side of the question and to show that, if prohibition is to be made a success, attention must be fastened on the widespread lack of enforcement. On the contrary, the drys have argued that the law was being satisfactorily enforced and that

official statistics will show a diminishing consumption of alcohol, and to this assumption they attribute various social improvements, but such statistics prove nothing unless the untold quantities of illicit liquor which is being manufactured domestically and the quantities which are being brought into the country by ship-loads and in other ways are included in the figures in order that it may be definitely determined whether or not the personal consumption of alcohol has been materially decreased.

CONGRESSIONAL OFFENDERS SHIELDED

When charges were widely published that bootlegging was flourishing under the dome of the Capitol, the Congressional Record was open for the pitiless exposure of any member of Congress or other Government official guilty of law violations. Representative Upshaw's exposure added no bill of particulars to the charges which had already been published, but proceeded to the stage of confidentially informing the Prohibition Commissioner as to the names of offending colleagues, when fearless and pitiless publicity was the need of the hour. If the charges made by Representative Upshaw are true, Congress is protecting bootleggers, and, so far, Representative Upshaw and the Prohibition Commissioner have protected the Congressmen. The following is from the Congressional Record of Dec. 29:

Mr. Blanton—The gentleman from Maryland knows that the distinguished gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Upshaw) is not going to give away any of his colleagues, even if he knew of any violation of the law. * * * And neither the affable gentleman from Maryland nor myself would give away any of our colleagues on that proposition if we knew of such evidence.

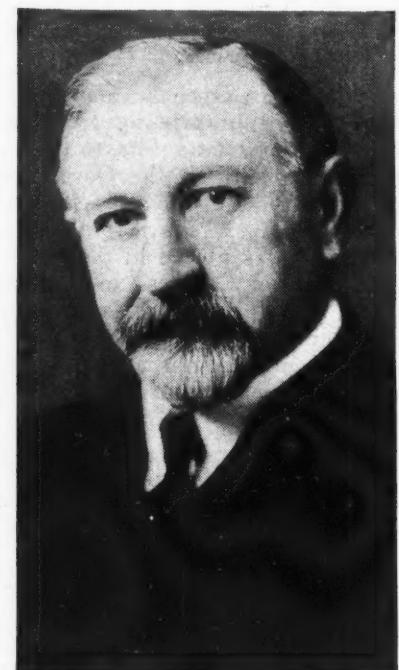
When the entire constituency of the country can be outraged and insulted and no one in official life is willing to give the truth and point out the difficulties which stand in the way of an honest and sincere enforcement of the law, Representative Cramton will not find justification for his statement on the floor of the House on Feb. 24, 1923, that "the bootlegger is like the buffalo—a historic but vanishing feature from our American scenery." When national prohibition was adopted,

many people felt that the war was to be followed by the millennium, and no doubt today sincerely stand for prohibition and wish to see it enforced, provided a kind Providence will do the enforcing. When those in positions where they could render a service fail to denounce violations of the law for fear of offending prohibitionists who have not been disillusioned, it is easy to understand the low morale of enforcement officers who lack courage to carry their operations into high places. The present condition of affairs in America, so far as law enforcement in high places is concerned, has been compared, and perhaps justly, to conditions in the days of the prophet Isaiah, when the people said to the prophets: "Prophesy not unto us right things; speak unto us smooth things; prophesy deceits."

A knowledge of flagrant violations of the law has the effect of creating among the law-abiding element a determination to stand by the law, and the failure of prohibition leaders and others who have assumed a responsibility in the matter to expose and emphasize violations exhibits a policy which has nothing to commend it. Next to the war fraud cases, perhaps one of the most stupendous scandals in American history was the operation of the Tweed ring in New York, which was alleged to have cost the taxpayers \$160,000,000 and had long been regarded as invincible. The *NEW YORK TIMES* began to publish exposures on July 20, 1871, and within a few months Tweed was under indictment and a fugitive from justice, finally dying in prison after vainly offering to give up all of his property and effects for his freedom. Where graft exists on a large scale, exposures and public sentiment are necessary before any official can proceed against the settled policies of powerful political forces, and, so far as the war fraud cases are concerned, they had been practically closed for several years before they were exposed in Congress. The cleaning up of the great municipal scandals in American history were not brought about by the lazy belief that exposures were unnecessary.

Aside from honest differences of opinion as to the merits of the National Prohibition Act, perhaps one reason prohibi-

tion has been so bitterly challenged as an invasion of personal liberty is the fact that the country had already been fed up on more laws that the people could digest, engendering a feeling of resentment against further restrictions. We have for years been endeavoring to become familiar with the intricate revenue laws, both State and Federal, with penal clauses, until a well-meaning and conscientious citizen is beset with fear lest he unwittingly become a criminal. It is elementary that an ideal nation has few laws to regulate human conduct. If all the laws we have are necessary, it speaks ill for the morals of America. During the last Congress 19,374 bills and resolutions were introduced, 581 public laws were enacted, and it is stated that during this congress seventy-eight proposed amendments to the Constitution were pending.



Underwood

H. L. SCAIFE
Counsel, Woman's Clean Government
Organization

At a recent meeting of jurists and lawyers in Washington, for the purpose of finding some means to bring about a restatement of the law, it was freely admitted that we were becoming lost "in a jungle of conflicting and confusing decisions." It was stated by Elihu Root that in the five years ending in 1914, a total of 62,000 statutes were passed by Congress and the Legislatures, and that in the same time 65,000 decisions were handed down by the courts relative to these laws. The remarks at this meeting by Herbert S. Hadley, former Governor of Missouri, were quoted in *THE NEW YORK TIMES* of February 24, 1923, as follows:

There were 9,000 homicides in the United States last year. The convictions in these cases totaled less than 10 per cent. Great Britain, Canada and other nations with only one-fifth as many homicides obtained convictions in 50 per cent. of their cases.

No country can have an increase in crime so far out of proportion to its increase of population as the United States and still continue to prosper. The matter with our criminal law is our failure to administer it properly. An investigation in eleven typical States shows that of 1,426 typical cases the average number of decisions reversed by the appellate courts was 33 1-3 per cent. In other words, the trial Judges were wrong in one out of every three criminal cases.

Speaking especially of the lack of enforcement of the prohibition laws, the Judicial Section of the American Bar Association, "venturing to speak for all the Judges," expressed this warning to the American people:

The people of the United States, by solemn constitutional and statutory enactment, have undertaken to suppress the age-long evil of the liquor traffic.

When, for the gratification of their appetites,

or the promotion of their interests, lawyers, bankers, great merchants and manufacturers, and social leaders, both men and women, disobey and scoff at this law, or any other law, they are aiding the cause of anarchy and promoting mob violence, robbery and homicide; they are sowing dragons' teeth, and they need not be surprised when they find that no judicial or police authority can save our country or humanity from reaping the harvest.

It would appear that the country is beginning to realize that there is something wrong in the administration of public affairs. Both of the great political parties have been rebuked, and in the last two general elections the people have voted in unprecedented majorities against the political party which happened to be in power, and this may suggest a method of dealing with the situation. If political parties would serve the purpose of watching and exposing the errors of each other, present conditions could not exist, but, today, lobbies in Washington are close to both political parties, and for some years bi-partisan interests have been increasing their control of both. The custom has been growing for both parties to leave some of the same men in these positions, and it is where this has been practiced that the worst scandals have occurred.

At the present time, with political blocs preserving a balance of power in legislation until neither party is functioning, and with no vital issues calling for partisanship, until the country is restored to normal conditions the remedy might be found in considering politics adjourned for a season and making law enforcement the vital issue, rewarding at the polls that political party which is the first to effectively enforce the law with even-handed justice.



AMERICA'S NEED OF A FEDERAL MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE LAW

By MRS. EDWARD FRANKLIN WHITE

Deputy Attorney General of Indiana; Chairman of Legislation for the General Federation of Women's Clubs; author of the bill introduced in Congress on Jan. 23, 1923, entitled, "Uniform Marriage and Divorce Laws in the United States."

Forty-nine divergent codes of marriage and divorce legislation—Serious aspects of this divergency from the viewpoints of higher morality and legal status—State initiative in reform no guarantee for the future

THE marriage and divorce laws of the United States, in their inharmonious variety, bear some resemblance to a patchwork quilt. They are the work of something like forty-nine artisans working without a foreman and without a common plan. These marriage and divorce laws as a whole have dire results because of this lack of harmony.

Marriage, usually referred to as an institution, is a civil contract, and as such has become the subject of State legislation. Each State Legislature, as a State was formed, went about the business of fixing the marriage status of its citizens, exactly as it fixed contractual rights and property rights, without meeting on any common ground or starting from any common source, unless the somewhat remote ecclesiastical courts of England may be regarded as a common source. Few States made any provision for the recognition of the status of citizens of other States with reference to marriage, any more than they did for the rights of adjoining land owners, except by a sort of gentlemen's agreement called "comity between the States."

The regulations prescribed by the various States, each of them sovereign in their law-making power, related to (1) the existence of the marital contract, (2) the qualifications for marriage, (3) the prerequisites to a valid marriage, and (4) the valid dissolution of the marriage.

The making of the contract presupposes an agreement and the capacity of the par-

ties to enter into the contract. These qualifications include not only the natural qualifications, such as mental capacity, but certain arbitrarily prescribed qualifications, such as age, race, relationship or physical conditions. The prerequisites to a valid marriage include the license, recording and solemnization; and the dissolution of the contract refers to the annulment of a void or voidable marriage and divorce.

FORTY-NINE DIFFERENT CODES

With reference to every one of these conditions, forty-nine jurisdictions have forty-nine sets of laws. This would be of little moment if the citizens of one State always remained in that State, or if the removal therefrom was accompanied by expatriation, as in going to a foreign country. But our constantly shifting population makes an altogether different problem, for we are citizens of the United States in whatsoever State we may reside. Fundamentally, this is wrong, for it is necessary to moral rectitude that a marriage in one State shall be regarded as a marriage in every other State.

Nearly every State declared that unless certain conditions obtained, a marriage should be absolutely void, and also declared that certain other conditions were essential, but that their absence should render the marriage voidable, but not void. For example, an existing undisolved marriage renders void the marriage

of either party to another without the necessity for legal proceedings to declare it void. But a marriage without a license in a State in which a license to marry is required would render the contract merely voidable, but not void, and here it would be necessary to annul the marriage by court proceedings.

The laws of the State, it is clear, are as diverse as they can well be, and the imaginary line that separates States may be the line between a lawfully wedded man and a bigamist, between a legitimate child and an outcast. For example, North Carolina recognizes two grounds for divorce, and the adjoining State of Tennessee recognizes ten, and neither State recognizes the laws of any other State with reference to the marriage status.

It is well to bear in mind at the outset that the provision of the Federal Constitution, which reads: "Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records and judicial proceedings of every other State," refers to the credit given such acts and records as evidence, and not as rules of conduct. Their credit would be good to the extent of proving the existence of a marriage in the State where performed, but not under all circumstances, to the extent of determining the legality of that marriage in any other State.

The problem of the marriage and divorce evil has two horns — the viciousness of the State laws and their variableness. Our marriage laws do not measure up to modern

ideas of social standards of integrity. Modern virtue may be lax, but sociology impels us to higher and higher ideals of marriage. This is shown by the constantly rising "age of consent," and by the tendency to increase the age at which boys and girls may legally marry and by the efforts to reduce the opportunities for the feeble-minded and diseased to marry and reproduce their kind, to prohibit the marriage of paupers which would increase the number of State dependents, to prevent the marriage between the white race and members of the black or yellow races, and to limit as far as possible incestuous marriages between prohibited degrees of consanguinity, which also will reduce the number of physical defectives. Laws which fall below rising standards need to be reformed.

Though it may be said that a State should have the right to fix its own qualifications for the entrance into any contract,

yet when those qualifications enter into the validity of the contract, and the contract creates the civil status of a married pair and their children, who may be citizens of one State today and of another tomorrow, it may be doubted whether the several States should have the right to create a status or require qualifications not recognized in every other State. A State may not so much as regulate the safety handholds on a box car if that box car runs on a railroad engaged in interstate commerce, because interstate commerce is one of the three things



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on which Congress may enact uniform laws for use in the States. The courts have construed that right as exclusive.

VICES OF MARRIAGE LAWS

Among the vices of existing laws as measured by our mounting ideals, we may note the lack of registration of marriages in an easily accessible record. Registration is an evidence of the family existence, of the birth and legitimacy of children, and is determinative of the rights of property. The record in many States, as returned to the State Board of Health, is simply a recital of the number of marriages and divorces, but not of the parties thereto.

Another grave evil is the lack of publicity given to the application for license and to the lax enforcement of license requirements. One of the chief objects to be sought in license requirements is the protection of the woman, and if a license may be granted in any county on false statements by any one concerning the qualifications of the woman, and the marriage may take place immediately, there is absolutely no protection for a girl who may be under age and no remedy to her friends or relatives until the mischief is done. A very few States require some time to elapse between the application for license and its issuance, and this tends to thwart this evil.

In many States the qualifications of good health, mental fitness, financial independence (at least one remote from pauperism) and absence of relationship are not insisted upon. If those subject to transmissible diseases or epilepsy intermarry, they are bound to produce diseased children; if mental defectives or first cousins intermarry, they will add to the number of public dependents. Paupers are forbidden to marry only in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Indiana. First cousins are not prohibited to marry in many States, and the records of institutions for the deaf and for the feeble-minded show that the great majority of the inmates are the offspring of the marriage of first cousins.

Not all States require witnesses to the contract of marriage, but these same States would absolutely require, in case a

man wished to transfer property by will, that he must have two witnesses. Only three of the New England States require witnesses. North Carolina is the only South Atlantic State and Louisiana the only Southern State that so requires. In the West and Middle West the rule is to require witnesses, but Indiana, Ohio, Iowa, Missouri and Idaho are exceptions.

Regardless of any idea of superiority or inferiority of the races, intermarriage between races is a very proper subject of legislation and prohibition. The natural law of the universe has tended to keep the different races separate, as they have been in all ages and countries down to the time of the introduction of slavery into America. Nine States now permit the legal marriage of the blacks and the whites. The many States which prohibit the marriage to a white person of one having one-eighth of negro blood would, if their laws also contained a comity provision, be compelled to recognize such a marriage in their State if performed in another State.

The ages at which children may marry range upward from 12 for the girl and 14 for the boy through 12 and 15, 13 and 14, 14 and 16, 14 and 18, respectively, to the legal marriageable age, without consent of parents; of 16 and 16 in Tennessee, 16 and 18 in New Hampshire and 16 and 21 in Maryland. I am glad to record that the majority of States require the attainment of the ages of 18 and 21 before legal marriage without the consent of parents may be entered upon.

Seventeen States fix no marriageable age, but in nine of these the ecclesiastical ages of 12 for girls and 14 for boys have been formally recognized, which means that in the remaining eight States no marriage could be declared void for "non-age." The inconsistency of saying that a boy of 14 is of sufficient capacity to determine his life history, but not of sufficient capacity by seven years to execute a valid deed to a home he might own, or to contract for his household supplies, is plainly apparent. It is intolerable to think that in many States children of 12 and 14 may legally marry when they have the consent of parents or guardians. Such consent, it is evident, may be given by one

who is himself without moral responsibility or mental capacity.

If a husband of 14 or 15 should come into the State of Indiana, for instance, he would find himself within the compulsory school age of the State, and subject to the laws for the protection of children, including municipal curfew laws. He could obtain employment only by the permission of the school authorities, and no employer could hire him unless he produced his school certificate.

Another vice in many States is the lack of sufficient penalties to insure the strict enforcement of what good laws they do have. Severe penalties should be inflicted for false statements by the applicants for a license or any one in their behalf; for failure of the marriage license clerk to require full proof of all necessary qualifications, and for the issuance of a license with knowledge of a legal impediment to marriage; also for the solemnization of a marriage with such knowledge or without sufficient authorization, by law or by license.

OUR STATE DIVORCE LAWS

The situation with reference to divorce is exactly the same. No two States are alike in the grounds for divorce, and many States are strict in not recognizing divorces granted in other States, especially when so obtained in evasion of the laws of the State regarding legal residence.

The matter of notice to the respondent is a very important factor in extraterritorial divorces. A State which permits a divorce to be obtained within its borders upon slight proof of a six months' residence, upon notice by publication in its own newspapers, will be the Mecca of all victims of marital infidelity who can afford the price. But divorce granted upon such notice by publication is not recognized in many States, and should not be recognized. Decisions by the highest courts of New York have maintained that that is the criterion of the "full faith and credit" clause of the Constitution, that a decree of divorce to be given full credit in another State must be granted after jurisdiction obtained of the parties, and that jurisdiction is not acquired by publication.

The grounds for divorce vary from none in South Carolina and one in New York, up to fourteen in New Hampshire; Oregon goes one step beyond, however, for in addition to the named grounds, divorce may be granted for any cause which the court deems sufficient.

The outstanding evil of the divorce laws is that they carry no speed limit. We fix a speed limit on automobiles to avoid wrecking lives; why do we not do the same in respect to divorce? The opportunity for immediate remarriage frequently conduces to divorce. A few States have provided a waiting time, a cooling time, by providing that no decree of divorce shall be absolute, but shall remain interlocutory for one year. During this year neither party may marry again, and if the parties decide to resume the marital state they may do so without further action by the court except to dismiss the proceedings.

The proportion of divorces to marriages is steadily increasing, and is excessively high where Gretna Greens are established, and in the case of runaway or secret marriages which have become so popular lately among high school and college students. It is estimated that 75 to 85 per cent. of those marriages result in divorce or annulment.

One other subject may be touched upon as a condition arising out of exclusive State jurisdiction of divorce, and that is the enforcement of court decrees relating to alimony or contribution to support of children. An absconding husband or father going out of the State must be extradited for the enforcement of State decrees. If such an act were an offense against a national law he could be forced in any State to make payments in accordance with the decree.

A NATIONAL ISSUE

The framers of our Constitution gave Congress the power to enact legislation touching upon the affairs of the nation, and specified in addition thereto three subjects of interstate concern for national laws, to wit, commerce between the States, naturalization and bankruptcy. We give the framers of that Constitution the credit for wonderful vision and foresight, but

we scarcely see how they could have foreseen the remarkable divergence of laws governing marriage and divorce and the consequent confusion that has arisen.

Is it not quite as much a matter of national concern that the status of a citizen shall be uniform in the several States, as that a citizen shall be created by naturalization? Is not the shifting of families from State to State, with their property and their civil rights, quite as much within the broad meaning of interstate commerce as the transportation of goods from one State to another? Is financial bankruptcy any more a national interest than bankruptcy of the home and family?

The interest of the State and the nation in this question can be compelled from the very strongest motive—self-preservation. The family is, and always has been, the unit of government, the grouping of families resulting in the smaller divisions of government, which in turn unite to form the State, the nation being but the higher organized groups of multiple families. The entity and the sanctity of the family are jeopardized by lax marriage laws, as well as by too easily evaded divorce laws.

The highest purpose in the regulation of marriage and divorce is the interest which society and the State takes in the offspring of the marriage. It is the effect upon the race and its integrity and well being which is the matter of deepest concern. Though provisions are made in divorce to sever those unequally yoked, some States making it easy for the two to go their separate ways, and some making it very hard, yet the main purpose is to preserve the honor of the family and descent of property to the children and provide for their maintenance.

FEDERAL LAW THE ONLY SOLUTION

To my mind, there are just two ways to remedy the condition above described—the enactment of the same identical law in every State of the Union, or the enactment of one law by Congress covering so much of the subject as is necessary to be uniform.

Merely amending our laws and making them reach higher ideals would not be

a solution, for we would still have the diversity. Recognition in one State of marriages or divorces in other States is not a feasible solution of the difficulty, for that would render almost meaningless the legislation on such relationships in any one State, and make of equal sanctity the legislation on the same subject of every other State.

The adoption in every State of the same identical law covering such controversial questions as qualifications for marriage and grounds for divorce could be nullified by a State again amending its laws and upsetting the uniformity.

Taking into consideration all the details and difficulties, the national law is the only feasible way to reach results. It is not necessary that it be enforced by Federal courts, but its enforcement may be placed in State courts. The national law may be an average, and must of necessity be a compromise.

Great diversity of grounds for divorce will make it necessary that there be a simplification and that there be compromise in reaching a given adjustment uniform in all States. New Hampshire will have to yield some of her fourteen grounds; New York will have to add some to her one ground, and South Carolina will have to accept legal divorce for illegal but recognized concubinage.

There will be no State to run to, for either marriage or divorce, for the law will be the same in all States. But the *summum bonum* will be accomplished in making a marriage valid in one State valid in every other State, a divorce obtained in one State recognized in every other State, and a child legitimate in one State legitimate in every other State.

It is the almost unanimous opinion of lawyers who have considered the question that an amendment to the Constitution is necessary to enable Congress to pass such a law. Therefore an amendment has been submitted, together with a bill which represents a very fair average of the thought on these subjects from North, East, South and West. It contains no provision which is not in use and operation in some State, and it contains many provisions which have been demanded by various States as a remedy for their ills.

THE SIZE OF THE CONFEDERATE ARMY

By CORNELIUS B. HITE

A veteran of the Confederate Army

The evidence that shows that the Southern forces numbered 600,000, and not double that figure, as argued by Mr. A. B. Casselman in a previous article

HOW large was the Confederate Army?" asks A. B. Casselman in the January, 1923, number of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, and he then proceeds to prove, hypothetically, that it was about double what it actually was. Among the statements he makes is one that the United States Adjutant General's Office cannot furnish, up to 1917, "even an approximately accurate statement" of the number of troops in the Confederate Army.

If the accuracy of Mr. Casselman's views be accepted the War Department can reduce its current expenses by eliminating in future the item for compilation of the roster of the Confederate Army, for the reason that it would be simply duplicating what has already been most efficiently done by two eminent officials; one, Charles A. Dana, Assistant Secretary of War in 1867; and the other, Whitelaw Reid, former Ambassador to Great Britain and also the owner of The New York Tribune. Both of these authorities put the Confederate Army, after careful investigation, at 600,000 men. This result was reached from the following facts:

The New York Tribune of June 26, 1867, contained a letter, with an accompanying table, for a long time supposed to be the work of Swinton, but later learned to be the work of Whitelaw Reid. Mr. Reid made the following statement:

Among the documents which fell into our hands at the downfall of the Confederacy are the returns, very nearly complete, of the Confederate armies from their organization in the Summer of 1861 down to the Spring of 1865. These returns have been carefully analyzed, and I am enabled to furnish the returns in every

department, and for almost every month, from these official sources. We judge in all 600,000 different men were in the Confederate ranks during the war.

The New York Tribune tables are omitted herein, except the grand total of the highest number present and absent, which is given as 484,000 for the year 1863; but these tables can be seen in full in the book by C. Gardner on "Acts of the Republican Party as seen 'y History," which was published in 1906, and from which most of my quotations are taken. Gardner states further, that "no one can doubt that these records existed at the time this table was made." Had they been published in full in the War Records, as Congress directed, this controversy would have been avoided, but only detached portions appear.

It is very important, in this connection, to consider the statement of General Cooper, late Adjutant General of the Confederate Army (So. His. Soc. Papers, Vol. II., p. 20), who says:

The files of this office, which could best afford this information (as to numbers), were carefully boxed up and taken on our retreat from Richmond to Charlotte, N. C., where they were, unfortunately, captured, and, as I learn, are now in Washington.

These records, therefore, which contained exact information on this subject, were not destroyed by the Confederate authorities, as some Northern writers have stated, but, on the contrary, were captured by the United States forces and taken to Washington. Why, then, could not Whitelaw Reid have seen them, as he said he did? And why was he not telling the truth when he wrote, "I am enabled to furnish the return in every

department and for almost every month from these official sources. We judge in all 600,000 different men were in the Confederate ranks during the war."

CHARLES A. DANA'S EVIDENCE

Why did the American Cyclopaedia (1875), of which Mr. Charles A. Dana, late Assistant Secretary of War, was editor, quote General Cooper's statement as to numbers without comment, if these records did not sustain him? Dana had been in an official position in which it was his duty to know the numbers in the Confederate armies. He tacitly admits the truth of General Cooper's statement, which is borne out by all of the Confederate officers, who were acquainted with the facts, and who all agree, that the total number of men in the army was not over 600,000. Among them are Vice President Alexander H. Stephens¹, Adjutant General Samuel L. Cooper,² General J. A. Early,³ General Marcus J. Wright,⁴ Dr. Joseph Jones,⁵ General John Preston,⁶ Dr. Bledsoe,⁷ (in Southern Review), Assistant Secretary of War.

By adding together the Confederate prisoners in the hands of the United States at the close of the war, the soldiers who surrendered in 1865, the killed, those who died of wounds or disease, deserters and discharged, we have a total of 605,250, to wit:

Killed	52,954
Died of wounds	21,554
" " disease	59,297
" " prison	26,439
" " from other causes	40,000
	200,244
Surrendered	174,223
Held as prisoners 1865	90,000
Deserters	83,372
Discharged	57,411
	605,250

¹ Stephens, Vol. II., p. 630.

² So. Hist. Soc. Papers, Vol. II., p. 287.

³ Id. 6 Vol., p. 24. Hist. Soc. Papers XIX., p. 254. II., p. 20. Am. Cyclopaedia (1875) p. 232, Chas. A. Dana, Assistant Secretary of War, U. S., Editor.

⁴ Hist. Soc. Papers, Vol. XX, 114. Id. XIX., 254.

⁵ Stanton's rep. Ex. Doc. 39 Congress.

⁶ Gen. Grant, Life of Grant, Mansfield.

⁷ Report of Gen. Preston, contained in report of Gen. Fry, p. 127.

The Confederate returns show there were enlisted men in the Confederate Army, January, 1862.....	318,001
Gen. Preston, Superintendent of Conscriptions S. A., reports February, 1865, that from February, 1862, there had been conscriptions as given above	87,993
Enlistments east of the Mississippi River	72,292
Estimated conscriptions and enlistments west of the Mississippi River and elsewhere	120,000
Total	598,296

The most far-fetched and unreliable argument is based on the assumption that every able-bodied man in the South was in the army. But it is forgotten that large portions of the Confederacy were inaccessible to enrolling and conscription officers, owing to the presence of Federal troops; and that some six or seven States by the Winter of 1862.³ were almost entirely in the enemy hands.

Then, there were those who avoided military service. A few extracts from the War Records will substantiate this statement, showing the inefficiency of the conscript law. General Cobb writes, December, 1864, from Macon, Ga., to Secretary of War:

At the hazard of incurring the criticism that I have not been equal to the duty of enforcing the conscript law in Georgia, I say to you, that you will never get the men into the service who ought to be there through the conscript camp. It would require the whole army to enforce the conscript law, if the same state of things exist throughout the Confederacy as I know is the case in Georgia and Alabama, and, I may add, Tennessee. (See 129 W. R. 964.)

H. W. Walters, writing from Oxford, Miss., to the Department, December, 1864, says (129 W. R. 976):

I regard the conscript department in Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi as almost worthless. I believe if the officers and men engaged in it were sent to the field more strength would be added to the army than will probably be afforded by the conscripts who will be sent forward.

General T. Holmes reports to Adjutant-General Cooper from Raleigh, N. C., April 29, 1864:

After a full and complete conference with Col. Mallett, commandant of conscriptions, and on examination of the reports of his enrolling

officers in different parts of the State, I am pained to report that there is much disaffection in many of the counties, which, emboldened by the absence of troops, is being organized in some places to resist enrolling officers, and persecute and prey upon true and loyal citizens. At present, my orders do not authorize me to act, as the reserve force is as yet without organization.

A very instructive report, made to the Confederate Secretary of War in January, 1864, adds much strength to the statements already given. We find there, in six States east of the Mississippi, the following:

Number of exempts from all causes	96,578
" deducted for disloyalty of	
parts of States	44,200
" unaccounted for (slackers).	70,294
" available for army service	
not in army	126,365
	337,437

General Kemper, in Virginia, reports Dec. 4, 1864, (129 W. R. 855), that, in his belief, there were 40,000 men in Virginia out of the army, between the ages of 18 and 45 years, and that the re-

turns of the bureau, obviously imperfect and partial, show 28,035 men in the State between 18 and 45 detailed for all causes.

A Northern writer says that the census report of 1890 furnishes reliable evidence of the survivors of both armies. Here is what a report of the Record and Pension Division of the War Department in 1896 says: "It requires but a brief examination of the census figures to show that they fall far short of representing the total number of survivors (of the United States soldiers) in 1890, and they cannot be relied upon as the basis of any calculation for the future." Therefore, what is true of one army, in this census report, is also true of the other.

The late Mr. Gardner, whose book I have quoted, was a prominent lawyer, reliable, accurate, painstaking, and exhaustive in his research work. He was a Confederate veteran, and well acquainted with many prominent men both during the war and subsequently; and hence was well equipped for writing a book which can be regarded as authoritative.



THE ATTACK BY LLOYD GEORGE ON FRENCH POLICY

Occupation of the Ruhr denounced by former British Prime Minister as a fatal mistake—France accused of planning to dismember Germany

MR. LLOYD GEORGE in the House of Commons on Feb. 19 delivered an important speech in which he described the occupation of the Ruhr by the French as a "great blunder." He spoke in the course of the debate which arose on the amendment, proposed by the Liberal Party to the address in reply to the King's speech, to the effect that the League of Nations should appoint a commission of experts to report upon Germany's capacity to pay reparations and that the United States should be invited to participate. By a vote of 305 to 196 the amendment was defeated. The following are the more important parts of Mr. Lloyd George's speech:

I have never departed from the principle that it is essential that the democracy of France and the democracy of England should walk together and act together as far as they can. But friendship with France does not mean that you must approve of every act of every French Ministry which puts in jeopardy the peace of the world. On the contrary, I think that it is the truest friendship for France, the sincerest friendship for her people, that dominates those who now are entreating the Government to take some action to save France from disaster, disaster which is inevitable sooner or later, and the later the greater. I believe the French Government are committing France day by day and week by week to a policy of irretrievable disaster.

I agree that when you come to the question of reparations itself the problem is not so difficult. That is what makes me suspect that it is not reparations, and that there is something beyond reparations. That is a disquieting feature. There was nothing in the reparations situation that demanded such a violent step as that which France has taken.

It is impossible for the House of Commons or any one else to express an opinion which is of

value on the situation without realizing exactly what the Treaty of Versailles actually provided. That treaty had no figures; it simply provided that Germany should pay damages of certain categories, and that those damages should be adjudicated on by a commission set up by May, 1921. In 1921 the damage was assessed at £6,600,000,000. That figure was not the claim, but the figure of damage. The only claim that has been presented to Germany for payment is a claim in respect of £2,500,000,000. The remainder has never been claimed, and there has been no serious contention that it can ever be claimed. It is true it has not been wiped out, but if we went to France at the present moment and said, "Will you take ten millions sterling for the whole of that balance?" they would not do it. Why? Because I know perfectly that that claim will never be presented.

What happened upon the real figures of the claim of £2,500,000,000? The Bankers' Committee appointed at the beginning of the year suggested that the figure which nobody intended to press should be wiped out. Upon that basis the committee, which had been invited by all the allied Governments to consider the situation, reported they were prepared to take the necessary steps to secure an advance for the purpose of reparations, provided the situation was cleared up and that contingent liability in respect to any claim put forward should be wiped out. There was no country not prepared to accept the situation, except, unfortunately, France, whose Prime Minister, M. Poincaré, could not see the way. He refused.

THE FIRST FATAL STEP.

That was the first fatal step which led toward this great blunder in the Ruhr Valley. The next step was the very generous proposal in the Balfour note to forego the whole of our reparations, providing there was a clearing up of the debt situation. So long as no claim was put forward against us, we proposed to wipe out the indebtedness of allied countries, and also our claim

against Germany. That was refused in the note by M. Poincaré. The next was the proposal of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer [Sir R. Horne] for the purpose of putting the finances of Germany in order. It involved a good deal of supervision and the payment of customs under conditions which could be overlooked. Belgium and Italy were prepared to accept that. M. Poincaré again refused. Then came the change in the Government in this country. The late Government was left in its position because of the refusal of America to come in, and we stood alone in taking the lead in resisting every grasping and extreme proposal put forward.

We were always resisting, always cutting down, always pleading for moderation. The result was undoubtedly that the French people blamed Britain, and they especially blamed me. They hailed the new Government as a sympathetic Government. Mr. Bonar Law had undoubtedly that preliminary psychological advantage at the conference. In addition, he came forward with a very liberal and generous proposal. But he found the present French Government just as intractable, just as implacable, in fact, even more so than I have ever found them, and again came a refusal. Upon a default of 10 per cent. of the coal deliveries—because default on general reparations had not been declared then—this serious step of invading Germany, occupying the Ruhr Valley, an operation which has already involved a great army from France, was undertaken. It is difficult to believe that reparations were the only purpose of that action, and that is what adds to the gravity of the whole situation and makes it necessary to clear it up. Reparations are not beyond being settled. It is because I believe in the justice of reparations that I regret this. I believe it endangers reparations. If it fails, I believe reparations are gone. If it succeeds, the cost will be so great that reparations will be irrecoverable for some time.

I do not accept the view that France is entirely behind this action. During the last few weeks seventeen by-elections have all gone against the French Government. That is a very remarkable verdict in favor of the anti-extreme reparations view. I believe that had it been possible to put off the invasion of the Ruhr Valley for a few months, French opinion would have made it impossible for any Government to take this action.

What has happened in the Ruhr Valley? The operation is developing far beyond what the Government reveals. I will go beyond that and say it has developed beyond what the French Government ever conceived. The national spirit of Germany, which for four years I saw humbled and broken, has for the first time since the armistice been aroused by the French action. It was a gross blunder to have come up

against it. France has committed herself, and it is very difficult for her to withdraw. Her pride is engaged and the pride of Germany is engaged. Two brave nations, each of them capable of endurance and sacrifice, stand in a position of gleaming defiance. Who can tell what is going to happen?

You may even break up Germany. If Germany breaks up, reparations at any rate go.



Underwood

DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

A recent photograph of the former British Prime Minister

You will be dealing with six capitals instead of one. Disarmament goes. You cannot control six different States, many of them hundreds of miles removed from the French frontier, and if you have revolution, revolution in Germany is a greater danger to France, to Britain, and to Europe than it is to Germany. The Ruhr is an open salient without any natural frontier. It is an absolutely untenable position for any one to hold. Security for France! It is peril for France. If we are real friends of France, and I think we are, we will do our best to extricate France from this enterprise ere it becomes too late.

Four weeks have gone, and I beg the Government to take action and take it now. I proposed the League of Nations in August, but there was no definite break, and therefore I could not formally propose it in a dispatch. M. Poincaré then said he could not accept it, and he took up this ground, that he could not refer any question under the Treaty of Versailles to the League of Nations. That is an amazing position. It is an absurd and untenable position, a position that France has never taken. The dispute between Poland and Germany was under the Treaty of Versailles. That was referred to the League of Nations with the assent of France, and to say that a Treaty which has parceled out the whole of Western Europe, a Treaty upon the working of which, well or badly, the life of Europe will depend for the next generation or two, is to be excluded, and every question under it is to be excluded, from the operation of the League of Nations is a perfectly ridiculous contention. The League of Nations was an essential part of the Treaty of Versailles, and therefore we were entitled to urge it upon M. Poincaré, who, above all others, had claimed the Treaty, the whole Treaty, and nothing but the Treaty.

It is essential America should come in. America herself proposed to come in. America, four days before the Paris Convention, undoubtedly with an idea that the matter would be discussed at that Convention, proposed that experts should be appointed to examine anew the whole question of reparations, and there was a very significant phrase used by Mr. Hughes as to what America might do under these circumstances: "Once this is done the avenues of American helpfulness cannot fail to open hopefully." A most significant and opportune phrase! Reparations and restoration cannot possibly succeed without the help of America. I do not believe we can do it alone. You must get the help of America. They have got the gold of the world locked in their chest, and they are

suffering from indigestion through real surfeit. They have a moral responsibility. They helped to create the situation. They helped to break up Germany. Their President signed the Treaty, and although the Senate rejected that Treaty, it did so not on the ground of the reparation clauses, but because it would not accept the League of Nations.

WHAT BECAME OF AMERICA'S OFFER

Was this very important offer of Mr. Hughes brought before the Paris Conference? If so, I should like to know the answer, because it is of the first importance that it should be pressed home. What really matters is getting America in, within or without the League of Nations. If America says, "We will not come with the League, we will come without the League," then have them. That is what is urgent. That is what is important. I do not believe that France, obsessed as she must be with her difficulties now, will refuse the offer made by the two greatest powers on earth that saved her from being in the position that Germany is in today.

Revision of the Treaty will create difficulties. There is no proposal put forward in this respect that can not be carried within the four corners of the Treaty. Cutting down reparations, the introduction of America, reference to the League of Nations, and even revision of boundaries can be done under the Treaty. How many of the Allies would attend a conference for the revision of the Treaty? If we went, we should be absolutely alone. We would simply give the impression to all the Powers that every question which had been decided in their favor would be reopened. That is not the way to settle the dispute about the Ruhr. We must have a new attitude and temper in the dealings with Germany. Sometimes you are forced to do business in life with men you dislike. In fact, if you do not, you never do any business at all. You cannot blacklist customers, except on financial grounds when they do not pay. On the whole you got rather a good bargain out of Germany. If every time a man comes to your shop you scowl at him and snap his head off it is bound to end in a rupture. You cannot do business on pariah principles. Above all, I entreat the Government to take the initiative in approaching the United States of America, and having approached them, together approach France. Then I believe these two great countries together will be able to get rid of the difficulties which have been hanging like a cloud upon the fortunes of the world.

A DEFENSE OF FRENCH POLICY

Reply to Lloyd George

By ANDRE TARDIEU

Leader of a Nationalist Party group in the French Chamber of Deputies; Secretary of Franco-American War Co-operation and High Commissioner of France to the United States (1917); Minister of the Liberated Regions (1919-20); French Plenipotentiary to the Peace Conference (1919-20); author of "The Truth About the Treaty" and of many other political and historical works

Attacks by Lloyd George on France's German policy the culmination of a theory antedating the Ruhr occupation—Ex-Premier's gross errors of fact and inconsistencies—Forced payment and the Ruhr seizure previously advocated by Lloyd George himself

IF I were asked to summarize my opinion of Lloyd George's address before the House of Commons on Feb. 19 last, and of his articles in *The Daily Telegraph*, in which he subsequently developed his views of international policy, I should repeat the reply made to the former Premier by Sir Frederick Banbury at the same session: "I am afraid the effect of Mr. Lloyd George's speech will be to give encouragement to Germany in her attitude." This comment exactly sums up the opinion prevalent in France. My personal acquaintance with Lloyd George and my political relations with him enable me, however, to go beyond this and not only to analyze the validity of his attacks on France on the ground of her occupation of the Ruhr, but also to trace the evolution of this hostile attitude, and to point out its inconsistencies.

I met Mr. Lloyd George for the first time in the Winter of 1914, at Saint Pol, at the headquarters of General de Maud'huy. As I listened to his violent complaints of the weakness of Mr. Asquith's Ministry, of which he was a member, I recalled ironically his attitude of the preceding July—the days in which he persisted in believing in the peaceful intentions of Germany, and when, by his action in the Cabinet, he delayed a decision by England which, had it been made and published earlier, would probably have held Germany back on the verge of the impending catastrophe.

Since that time I have had innumerable

opportunities of seeing Mr. Lloyd George, of talking and negotiating with him, and never have I lost consciousness of the spirit of contradiction which that first interview inspired in me. I negotiated with him during the war on questions of effective forces and military co-operation; during the peace that followed on questions of frontiers and general politics, and always on coming forth from these negotiations I was seized by the same impression of uncertainty and ambiguity. In all contemporary political life, there is no more enigmatic figure than Lloyd George.

ANNEXATION CHARGE NOT NEW

The grievance against France which he expounds, regarding the occupation of the Ruhr, is not new. He is convinced, or at least he says he is convinced, that our sole thought is to dismember Germany. I have heard him over and over again, since 1917, use the same language, though applying it to different circumstances. In June, 1917, he refused the invitation sent him by the Alsace-Lorrainers of London to speak at their celebration of the Fourteenth of July (Bastile Day). He thought it dangerous to associate himself with a demonstration favoring the detachment of two provinces from the Reich, even though these provinces were really French. Some months earlier, while passing through the Place de la Concorde with M. Briand, he had pointed out to the latter the statue of Strasbourg, veiled with crepe saying: "I am afraid that after our vic-

tory, we shall see similar statues in Germany."

When, at the opening of the Peace Conference, I took up with him the question of the occupation of the Left Bank of the Rhine, he supported his objections by citations from certain articles published by French newspapers devoid of prestige and of small circulation, declaring that we wished to create a new Alsace-Lorraine. For five months he spurred on President Wilson, who was inclined to favor our thesis, to reject the French demands on this point—demands inspired solely by the twofold desire of having a pledge for the payment of reparations, and of sparing French territory the risk of a new invasion.

It was Lloyd George again who, to prevent us from undertaking a military occupation, which, as we had defined it, was motivated by no thought of annexation, proposed to us on March 14, 1919, the Anglo-American guarantee pact as a substitute for the said occupation.

It was despite the opposition of Lloyd George—an opposition displayed before the drafting of the treaty between March 14 and April 30, and after the drafting was concluded, from May 27 to June 12—that M. Clémenceau and I succeeded in introducing and maintaining in the peace conditions the clause for a fifteen-year occupation of the left bank of the bridge-heads of the Rhine, this occupation to be extended beyond this period in case Germany should not faithfully fulfill her agreements, and also in case the guarantees against German aggression should be judged insufficient.

LLOYD GEORGE'S ERRORS OF FACT

I have recalled these facts to make it plain that Mr. Lloyd George did not await our occupation of the Ruhr to bring against us the charge which he is now so voluminously repeating, to show that he is not expressing a conclusion based on recent developments, but rather a conviction reached long ago, before any act of French policy could have afforded him a motive on which to base it.

When we analyze in detail the theory of Mr. Lloyd George we find it to be full of errors. He declares that on Jan. 2

France rejected Mr. Bonar Law's proposal to have the differences between France and England adjusted by the League of Nations. Mr. Bonar Law never made such a proposal.

Mr. Lloyd George charges us with refusing our consent to consideration of the proposals submitted by Germany at the same date. The official reports of the Paris conference prove that Mr. Bonar Law himself declared, in agreement with all his colleagues, that Germany had made no proposal which could be considered as worthy of discussion.

Mr. Lloyd George declares that we have 160,000 men in the Ruhr. We have not even half as many.

Mr. Lloyd George proclaims that we have failed in our undertaking to compel the German workmen to work. All newspaper correspondents on the spot know that we have never tried to compel them to work.

These errors of fact show either great ignorance or blind prejudice; they would be sufficient to discredit the whole argument of the former Premier. But his infringements of the truth do not stop there; to support his views he recklessly misstates all the history of recent years. Reading his effusions, and hearing him speak, one would suppose that the occupation of the Ruhr by virtue of Paragraph 18 of Annex 2 of the Versailles Treaty was a diabolical invention of French imperialism. Mr. Lloyd George's memory is poor, as the following facts demonstrate:

In May and June, 1919, Mr. Lloyd George requested Marshal Foch to formulate the plan for the occupation of the Ruhr; this plan was to be carried out if Germany accepted the advice of Count Brockdorff-Rantzaу, and refused to accept the conditions of peace.

Acting for Great Britain, Mr. Lloyd George signed the ultimatum of May 5, 1921, which threatened Germany, if she did not accept the terms of payment, with the occupation of the Ruhr. On the next day, May 6, in a speech made before the House of Commons, the Premier spoke more strongly than any one else in favor of the occupation of the Ruhr as a means of forcing Germany to fulfill her signed agreements.

In other words, neither in 1919 nor in 1921 did Mr. Lloyd George consider the project of occupying the Ruhr as a scandalous act of violence, devised to ruin the economic life of Germany and of Europe, to exalt the spirit of revenge, and to dis-honor France. Neither in 1919 nor in 1921 did Mr. Lloyd George believe that the agents of such an occupation of the Rhine would cause a frightful disaster to Germany, to themselves or to humanity.

To escape this objection, which is not lacking in force, Mr. Lloyd George would undoubtedly reply that if he changed his mind it was because the situation itself has changed, inasmuch as in 1919 and 1921 the Ruhr would have been occupied by all the Allies together, while the present actual occupation has been made by France and Belgium acting alone. But this brings up the question of who is responsible for this change in the situation, and in this connection also it is easy to show the weakness of the violent and unjust denunciation by Lloyd George of my country's policy.

It is my belief, and this is not the first time that I state it, that no one bears a greater responsibility for the loosening of the Entente bonds than my former colleague at the Peace Conference. The French Ministers who have succeeded to power since 1920 share this responsibility by reason of the cowardice that they showed when confronted by the exacting demands made by Mr. Lloyd George, but Mr. Lloyd George himself is the first and chief culprit.

REPARATIONS POLICY REVERSED

As soon as peace was concluded, Mr. Lloyd George determined to shape it to the advantage of his own policy and to the disadvantage of his allies. For weeks at a time he insisted in 1919 on the extradition of the Kaiser and the punishment of German war criminals. In February, 1920, a by-election in which a Labor candidate was victorious, was enough to cause Mr. Lloyd George to abandon quite suddenly all clauses referring to war responsibilities.

He himself, before and during the Peace Conference, frequently repeated the formula, "Make them pay." He himself



ANDRÉ TARDIEU

One of the French plenipotentiaries at the Peace Conference and former Minister of Liberated Regions

had demanded that Germany should be asked not only to make reparation for inflicted damage, but also to pay war pensions. He most violently protested against the proposal of Mr. Baruch and Norman Davis, fixing at 325,000,000,000 gold francs (175,000,000,000 present value) the total of German payments.

It is well known that from February, 1920, Mr. Lloyd George began to work for the reduction of the German debt. He continued this in April, 1920, at the San Remo conference. At the meetings at Hythe and Boulogne in the following months of May and June, he proposed a total of 125,000,000,000 gold francs, or 47 per cent. less than his demand of a year before.

It is also well known that the activity of Mr. Lloyd George in this direction continued and was intensified throughout the whole of 1921; that under his influence

the schedule of payments of May 1, 1921, fixed the German debt at 132,000,000,000 gold marks, 82,000,000,000 of which were to be represented by Class C bonds, bearing no interest and non-negotiable; that from the following December he accepted without discussion the German demands for a moratorium, and that he continued in 1922 up to the time of his fall from office to plead as against the creditors of Germany and the war comrades of England herself, the cause of the deliberately bankrupt debtor.

Never has Lloyd George proposed to the countries on whose soil had been fought the battles of the war, viz., France, Belgium and Italy, the least compensation. Ten times, twenty times, he demanded that they reduce their claims in view of the larger interest of the reconstruction of Europe. Not once did he propose to them any plan whereby to guarantee the minimum with which he urged them to content themselves. Encouraged by the weakness of his fellow-negotiators, and finding no one of the calibre of Clemenceau to oppose him, he pushed more and more, month by month, under the dubious influence of diplomats like Lord d'Abernon [the British Ambassador to Germany] or of bankers of pro-German tendencies, a policy of peace revision which encouraged Germany to multiply obstacles and evasions.

I know only too well that the English banks, which were profiting by German deposits and preferred to keep them, encouraged Mr. Lloyd George to pursue this policy. The same pressure was exerted by certain American banks. But the duty of statesmen is to remain superior to such forms of pressure and to consider over and above material contingencies those great moral interests which Bismarck, for all his grip on realities, recognized and classified under the name of "imponderables."

Mr. Lloyd George had regard for none of those considerations. He claims the honor of working to give peace to humanity. This is pure mockery. Was he working for peace when he launched the Greeks on their attempt to conquer Asia Minor? Was he working for peace when,

by his dealings with the Soviet, he paved the way, all unwittingly, to the Russo-German treaty of Rapallo? Under a thin coating of pacifism he has pursued, since the conclusion of peace, merely a mercantile policy, aiming now at Constantinople, now at Mosul and Baku. He is ill-qualified to give today lessons in solidarity, for his international policy was inspired for three full years by the narrowest selfishness.

A FOSTERER OF MISUNDERSTANDING

These are the reasons that make it impossible for me to take seriously the philippies which Mr. Lloyd George, inconsolable over his loss of power, hurls against France on the pretext of her occupation of the Ruhr. My explanation of that occupation is quite simple. On Dec. 15 last, from the rostrum of the Chamber of Deputies, I made it plain that if the necessity had devolved upon me, as it devolved upon M. Poincaré, compelled thereto by the English note of Jan. 2, to force Germany to pay, I would not have begun by the Ruhr. I may add, that if I had had to direct the occupation of the Ruhr, I would certainly not have managed it like M. Poincaré, who, because of insufficient preparation, a too narrow limitation of the object to be attained and of the means of execution, and the employment of too many precautions, has diminished the effectiveness of the occupation and increased its duration. But I say that if there is one man in the world who, witnessing this isolated action of France and Belgium, has not the right to accuse them, that man is Mr. Lloyd George. For three years he broke the admirable solidarity arising from the war with his own hands. He was, it is true, aided in this by the incapacity of the allied Ministers with whom he had to deal. To the extent by which that incapacity favored him and made him the master of Europe, his responsibility becomes the graver.

Mr. Lloyd George played a great part in the World War, but he has shown no comprehension of the needs of peace. I admit that certain tendencies of the British character may have favored his errors of judgment. British reactions are not our

reactions. The Britisher, behind his sea rampart, is blind to the state of mind of the Frenchman, with his open frontier, twice violated in fifty years. The Britisher, never attacked upon his island, takes war as a sport, and when it is ended, he concludes: "Let's forget it!" The Britisher, who said, "Germany shall pay to the last cent," but whose territory has not been ravaged, can dispense with reparations without fear of bankruptcy. For all these reasons, there was bound to be dis-

harmony between the French and British viewpoints.

But the duty of the two Governments, instead of emphasizing this disharmony, was to re-establish harmony. By the tone of hatred which stamps his present words and writings, Mr. Lloyd George compels us to believe that he has never understood this duty, even in those hours when his attitude gave us no ground for such a suspicion. His repeated attacks may injure him more than they injure France.

LORD CURZON'S REVIEW OF WORLD POLITICS

Important and optimistic pronouncement by the British Foreign Secretary—Europe recovering more quickly than after Waterloo—Great Britain's decision not to withdraw from the Rhine and the Near East

LORD CURZON, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, at a luncheon given in his honor by the Aldwych Club in London on Feb. 27 delivered an important address in which he reviewed the present international situation. This pronouncement was of special interest on account of the hopeful view expressed by the statesman who directs British foreign policy and because of his declaration that Great Britain was determined to maintain its position in world affairs with firm courage and confidence. The following is the text of Lord Curzon's speech:

The Chairman [Sir William Berry] has alluded to the circumstances attending my sojourn at Lausanne and has described it as a somewhat sombre gathering. I think the Chairman has rather exaggerated the gloom that overhung our proceedings and of which I was not altogether conscious. It was a difficult task, but if it leads to a satisfactory result I for one shall not deplore either the length of time I spent there or the somewhat arduous task upon which I was engaged. I do not think it desirable to say much about the Lausanne conference today for the reason that the question at issue is now being discussed at Angora, and I might perhaps, if I

were rash, say something that would not expedite the solution we all desire.

At Angora there is, no doubt, as elsewhere, a peace party and a war party, a moderate party and an extremist party. For my part I believe the former party, to which I am convinced my late colleague, Ismet Pasha, belongs, will prevail. I cannot believe it possible that any nation or Government or people will in the long run reject a treaty so generous and considerate in its terms as that which we have offered, a treaty which will have the result of enabling Turkey to resume again her career both in Europe and in Asia. Neither can I conceive it possible that it is the desire of the Turks, any more than it is our own, to prosecute a struggle which has impoverished and exhausted all those who have taken part in it and the early termination of which is as essential to them as it is to us.

I only ask you to bear in mind one thing about Lausanne, and that is that, when the success or failure of those proceedings is attributed, as it sometimes has been, to an individual, it ought to be recalled that the British representative there was only one of eight powers. I was not the President of the conference; I was only the Chairman of one particular commission, which, it is true, was concerned with some of the most important aspects of the case; but in all respects I had to work with my colleagues. I had to conclude, if it were possible, not an individual,

but a collective peace, an international peace and a peace in which those who were defeated in the late struggle—I speak of the Turks—have as great a share as those who were victorious. Therefore, the proceedings at Lausanne were international proceedings, and what I have been concerned with is not the victory of my own country, but the peace of the world at large.

WORLD PEACE NOT YET ASSURED

I am now going to deal with the foreign situation as a whole. Of course I shall look at it through Foreign Office glasses, but I hope their lenses are so constructed as neither to magnify nor to distort the scene. We are rather too apt here to look at our own little corner of the international canvas and to assume, because its colors are of a rather lurid character, that everything is going badly everywhere, including our own country. We see our own troops still engaged in many parts of the world, involved in perils and in commitments which we would gladly escape. We see the peace of the world not yet, although the war has been over for four years, assured; we see an anxious situation in the Ruhr; we see the economic situation of the world sorely troubled and reacting gravely upon the social and industrial problems with which we are faced; we see a great mass of unemployment in our midst with a consequent financial burden upon our people, and we are rather apt, looking at the case from our own angle, to think that things are in a very bad way and are not making the progress they should. There is one section of our people who attribute this entirely to the present Administration. There are others who reserve their criticism and blame entirely for their predecessors, and as I personally happen to have been a member of both Governments I cannot escape it in either direction.

My view of the case is rather different. I think we ought to compare our present situation, not with the years immediately preceding the war, but rather with the years following the last great international convulsion a hundred years ago, which were in some respects rather analogous to our own. This morning I took up a history of the world recently written, and I read in it the following passage about the situation of our own country after the battle of Waterloo. I will read it to you:

"The years which immediately succeeded the Peace of Vienna are among the darkest in our history. Peace brought distress rather than prosperity. With the cessation of war, expenditure due to war ceased, all countries practiced retrenchment, and our own expenditures fell in three years from £106,000,000 to £53,000,000. There was no longer a Continental demand for our manufactures; prices fell and, with prices, wages. Our national debt exceeded £800,000,000, spent in the struggle against the revolution and

Napoleon. There was a deficit of £10,000,000 in the revenue of the year. Farms were thrown out of occupation, the ranks of the unemployed were swelled by the reductions in the army and the navy. Bankruptcies increased in numbers every day, landlords received no rent, and tenants could sell no corn. Estates offered for occupation rent free were rejected. This distress was intensified by an entire failure of the harvest of 1816. Distress led to riot and riot led to cruel acts of repression."

CONDITION WORSE AFTER 1815

You will observe that there are certain features in that situation parallel to those we are confronted with today, but, I think you will agree, the nineteenth century situation, as I have read it, was immeasurably worse than the twentieth. A hundred years ago the condition of affairs was much slower in reaching recovery than now. It took not four years to recover but fourteen and fifteen and even more years. It was not until 1821 that cash payments were renewed in our own country. For ten years or even more after Waterloo there was a record of war, of rebellion, and of revolution; there was the war of independence in Greece; a little later there was war between Russia and Turkey; there was revolution in Italy, Egypt and Spain. Of course, the statesmen of that day had drawbacks to meet and abuses to remedy different from those with which we are now faced. At that time there were grave defects in our law and in our administration in this country, the gradual removal of which was not accomplished until 1832, but we also now have factors to deal with with which they were not confronted.

We have to meet an almost complete collapse of international credit. On the whole, the havoc and confusion, what I may call the physical disturbance, created by the late war has been immeasurably greater than that which followed the defeat of Napoleon, and again we also have the deplorable spectacle in one part of Europe of two great nations, France and Germany, whose harmonious relations are indeed essential for the recovery of international peace, engaged in a sort of disguised war—a war which is not serious as a contest of physical force because of the great disparity of strength of the two, but which is serious in the passions which it may engender and the consequences which may ensue.

These are our difficulties as compared with those of 1815. How then, I ask you, do we stand? Ought we to commiserate ourselves on being no better, and perhaps worse, off than our ancestors were a century ago, or may any note of self-congratulation and of hope enter into our prospects? I answer that question in the affirmative. You as an audience of business men are the very last I could attempt to deceive by

soft words. I venture to say to you that the situation is improving slowly but surely, and I will endeavor to show you how and why.

Take first the home situation in its financial aspect, with which you are brought into daily and hourly contact. Look at the position. Our revenue covers our expenditure; our debt is being steadily reduced; stocks are appreciating, the exchanges are rising, fixed interest stocks have risen 5 per cent. and industrial stocks 30 per cent. in the past year. Our exports of manufactured goods have almost climbed back to pre-war level; there is an improvement in our exports of iron and steel—I wish I could say the same of cotton. Our imports, for reasons with which you are familiar, are not recovering quite so quickly. This, I believe, is, in a sentence, a fair summary of the domestic situation.

THE NEW NATIONALISM

Now I ask you to accompany me for a few moments abroad. We are dealing with a Continent in which four years ago nearly every country, certainly all the principal countries, were at war, and in the course of which all went through a period of intense suffering. Moreover, we are not dealing, now that the war is over, with peoples whose future can be carved out for them by a fiat of the great powers. That is not the case. The modern nations of Europe are building themselves upon the principles of nationality and freedom which scarcely had existence a hundred years ago. Then you had the Holy Alliance, which attempted to recast the map of Europe, with disastrous results. Now you have the idea that people ought to manage their own destinies and build up their own future. But do not imagine for a moment that that process can be

pursued, or that those ambitions can be gratified, without exciting popular passions in the highest degree.

In order to test my own modest confidence, I would ask you to compare the situation now with that which existed when the powers met at Paris after the armistice to conclude the peace. Then the whole of Central Europe was a seething cauldron of racial animosities, of commercial rivalries, of undetermined frontiers and precarious régimes.

People would have told you that the State of Poland had a purely artificial and arbitrary existence. It is not so. Poland is making good and is settling down, and has acquired a considerable degree of stability. Her frontiers are being defined by the Conference of Ambassadors sitting at Paris.

Take the neighboring State of Czechoslovakia. There, under the rule of enlightened and patriotic men—I refer to Professor Masaryk and Dr. Benes—you have a sound economic policy being pursued, and the new State is a factor in the peace of Europe.

Pass to Austria. Up to a few months ago she was regarded as being afflicted with a mortal disease and as tottering to an inevitable doom. In the papers today I read of a loan of 2,000,000 sterling or thereabout being successfully floated in the City of London, with corresponding issues which are to be placed in the other great capitals of Europe. Vienna is the financial centre and market of Central Europe, and its collapse or disappearance would have been a source of immeasurable disaster. Austria is at last moving along the right path of progress and will be able once again to play her part in the world.



Wide World

LORD CURZON

The British Foreign Minister photographed during the Lausanne Conference

I pass to Italy, which during the last four years has more than once been threatened with riots and revolution. There has arisen there a strong man of whom I saw a great deal at Lausanne. I speak of Signor Mussolini. He is a man of astonishing energy and with an iron grip. In a few months he has crushed internal disorder, has aroused the enthusiasm and enhanced the prestige of his country, and has had the wisdom to make peace with Jugoslavia. The clouds are lifting over Italy at this moment.

Take Greece. Her financial and economic situation is seriously depressed, but I believe that the patriotism of her people and the vitality of the race will be sufficient to enable her to emerge from the disaster from which she is suffering. The picture I have drawn of the Central Europe States is, therefore, one not of despair or despondency but of recuperation and hope.

RUHR INVASION A MISTAKE

There are, of course, some black patches on the international canvas. There is the position of Russia, about which I cannot speak today; I have not the time. There is the Near East, of which the peace is still unsettled, but as to which I have told you that I entertain sanguine hopes, and there is the position that exists between France and Germany in the Ruhr. I wish I saw daylight there. I certainly mean to say nothing that will add to the difficulties of our allies, because after all the French and the Belgians were our allies, and only a few years have gone by since the Germans were our foes.

Now, it is easy to criticise the policy of our Government as being indecisive and halting. I am not sure that for the moment it could be anything else. But I believe that, broadly speaking, the public in this country understands, sympathizes with, and supports the policy which we are pursuing. I believe they think that the military entry into the Ruhr, whether right or wrong, was at any rate unwise; and that we were right not to participate. I believe also that they uphold that we are right in maintaining the position of our troops on the Rhine as long as possible, both because of the influence they exercise, because the problem is one in the solution of which we are as much interested as any other, and because our presence there is earnestly desired—I speak with knowledge—by all the powers concerned, namely, France, Belgium, Italy and Germany.

Public opinion here would, I think, welcome even more warmly any indication that a way out of this difficulty could be found, and when that opportunity occurs then it will expect us to take a part. The solution of the reparation problem is not one that can be reserved for France and Belgium and Italy alone; it is an international problem in which we are all deep-

ly concerned, and I look forward to the day when it will be solved not by individual action but by international action.

There are two other features in the international situation which encourage in one a spirit of reasonable confidence. We have, for the first time, existing in Europe a permanent administrative machinery, I mean the League of Nations. There was nothing comparable to this or resembling it in 1815. The League of Nations is still lacking in the full measure of authority and strength which, if its membership were wider than it is now, would enable it to reach the position that it seeks to attain. But you would make a great mistake if you deride it or disparage it. You ought, on the contrary, to give it every assistance in your power. It provides a practical machinery for good purposes, and is gaining in strength, enthusiasm and support. It has already done a very great work in the international sphere in combating disease, in organizing philanthropic efforts, in promoting international communications. It has dealt successfully with several very delicate problems that were submitted to it; above all, it has developed and is promoting that spirit of international co-operation which I have been arguing with you is the sole secret of successful dealing with international affairs in the future.

IMPROVED BRITISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS

The second satisfactory feature is the great and continuing improvement in our relations with the United States of America. This has been due to a number of independent but confluent causes. It began with the Irish settlement of December, 1921, the extreme generosity of which removed the long-standing sore that existed between America and ourselves, and went a long way to weaken the hostility of the Irish in the United States toward Britain. The next step was the Washington conference at the beginning of 1922, when the attitude of the British Government in the suspension of the building of capital ships, in respect of submarines, and in constituting the Allied Pact for the peace of the Far East produced a very great impression in America. Thirdly, throughout the past Summer and at Lausanne, the American Government was warmly in sympathy with our recent policy; and, lastly, there came only a few weeks ago the funding of the debt, which we owe to the skill and ability of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Baldwin. I believe that settlement, onerous as is the burden we have to bear, was valuable as an evidence of our good faith, and has proved that we are still able to do the honorable thing in the old-fashioned honorable way. Further, it was valuable as the first decisive step toward starting the era of stabilization and recovering the confidence of the world. I see nothing myself that

is in the least likely to disturb these happy and friendly relations with the great Republic across the ocean, and I look to our increasing co-operation in the future to provide a key to many of the problems with which we are faced.

I have thus drawn a picture of what I might call a reasonable optimism, and I think I have shown that there are symptoms of steady progress to be noted in the world. I see no reason why this country should not take the lead in that process of reorganization and pacification. We did take the lead in the manner I have described at Washington, and I think we also took the lead at Lausanne. So long as our policy is straightforward and sincere and strong, so long as we are not out for selfish advantage or are trying to pick up the titbits all over the world; but, on the contrary, are working for the good of others, as well as our own, so long do I think others will look to us to give the lead and, I believe, will help us. Above all, I see no reason why in these early years of the twentieth century Great Britain should speak with bated breath or whispering humbleness, or why our policy should be one of timidity or apology or scuttle. I sometimes wonder, when I see what is said and what is written, whether we are not in great danger of losing something of our ancient self-confidence and self-respect, our willingness to run risks, to dare greatly and do greatly for great ends.

"THE POLICY OF UNIVERSAL SKEDADDLE"

The Chairman spoke about our responsibilities. Yes. We want to limit our obligations, to curtail our responsibilities and to reduce our expenditure. Flag-wagging for the mere sake of showing the Union Jack has long ceased to have any attraction even for the British race. But I confess I am rather shocked when sometimes I take up my papers in the morning and I read almost

piteous appeals to the British people to withdraw from everywhere, from the Rhine, from Constantinople, from the Straits, Jerusalem and Bagdad. I have not any personal sympathy for the policy of universal skedaddle. Withdrawal is an expedient. It is sometimes a wise and a necessary expedient, but it is in no sense a policy. You have to consider something more than mere pounds, shillings and pence. You have to consider the obligations of honor and good faith into which we have entered, and to think of British interests and of the consequences of withdrawal, if too hurriedly or rashly undertaken, and of the effect that will be produced upon the peace of the world.

I am old enough in public life to remember many cases in which, in deference to popular clamor, we have withdrawn. I have seen British armies and British influence withdrawn from Egypt, the Sudan, the Transvaal and from parts of the Northwest frontier of India, and with what results? After the lapse of only a few years, at the expense of untold blood and treasure, we had to go back again. I do not want to repeat that experience. There are places from which we ought to withdraw and may have to withdraw, but I would like to be cautious about withdrawing and to be certain that I am not making a mistake in doing so, or leaving my country in greater difficulties by withdrawal. It is sometimes better to stay a little longer than to go too soon.

I hope that in these few observations I have stated a policy that will commend itself to my countrymen. I see no reason why any Foreign Minister, speaking to his fellow-countrymen, should adopt an attitude of apology or excuse. Rather do I think that our foreign policy, as announced by our statesmen, should be outspoken, resolute and firm. The days have not yet gone by in my judgment when Britain can still speak to the world in accents of courage, confidence and truth.



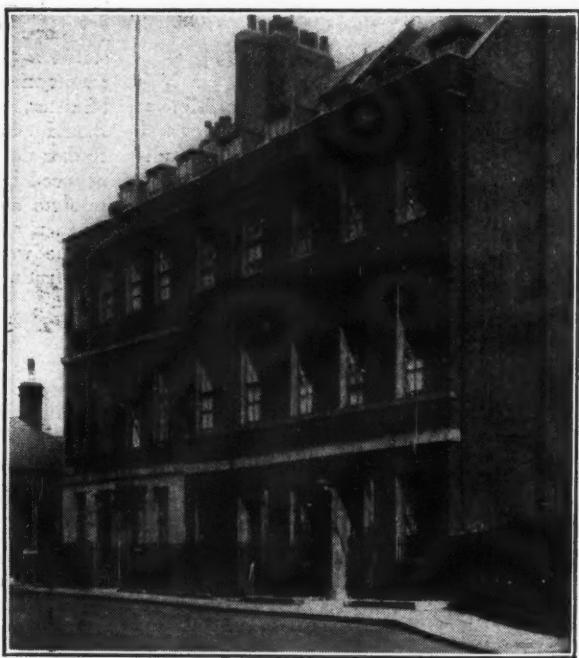
OVERSEA BRITONS' NEW PLACE IN EMPIRE'S COUNCILS

By ROBERT ALEXANDER MACKAY

A new Constitution of the British Empire being shaped by the participation of the self-governing Dominions in the control of foreign policy—Great Britain no longer able to bind Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand without consent of Dominion Parliaments

THE control of foreign policy is the anvil on which a new Constitution of the British Empire is being hammered into shape. The self-governing Dominions under the British Crown—Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand and Newfoundland—were plunged into the World War by understandings and treaties entered into on the sole responsibility of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The Triple Entente and the guarantee of Belgian neutrality were products of European diplomacy over which the Dominions had neither control nor effective influence. The realization of the fact that they had only a limited control over their own destinies came home with a startling suddenness to the Dominions, and there was a general determination that means to prevent a recurrence must be sought on the termination of the war. There were three possible answers to the problem: (1) They might enter the international field as independent States; (2) they might revert to the status of colonies, accepting no obligations in the burdens of empire; or (3) they might claim a share in formulat-

ing and directing the policies of the empire as a whole. In the first flush of post-war enthusiasm they chose the last. The abnormal activity in international affairs, the multiplicity of international congresses, the innumerable treaties and conventions entered into since the war have all been of supreme importance in developing precedents which, if not entirely adequate, have at least been extremely



No. 10 Downing Street, London, the official residence of the British Prime Minister and meeting place of the Cabinet. It is from here that the destinies of the British Empire are guided. The adjoining house, No. 11, is occupied by the Chancellor of the Exchequer

useful in securing participation by oversea Britons in shaping imperial destinies. Though enthusiasm has given way to a more sober sense of the responsibilities incurred, the precedents so far established have not been allowed to lose their force. They presage a new era in the relations between the mother country and the "colonial nations," as the Dominions beyond the seas have also been called.

The change is evident in the new procedure for the negotiation, signature and ratification of political treaties which affect the empire as a whole, a procedure which dates from the Peace Conference at Paris. Although the Dominions had participated in minor international conferences before the war, their first opportunity of a real voice in imperial foreign affairs came at Paris. It was obtained in three ways. In the first place, representatives of Dominion Governments were included in the British Empire delegation, which was, in effect, the Imperial War Cabinet which had functioned with so much success in the last two years of the war. Secondly, the Dominions insisted that provision should be made for their separate signatures to the treaty by plenipotentiaries recommended to the Crown by Order in Council of the Dominion Governments and acting on behalf of the Dominions alone. They demanded that the treaty should not only

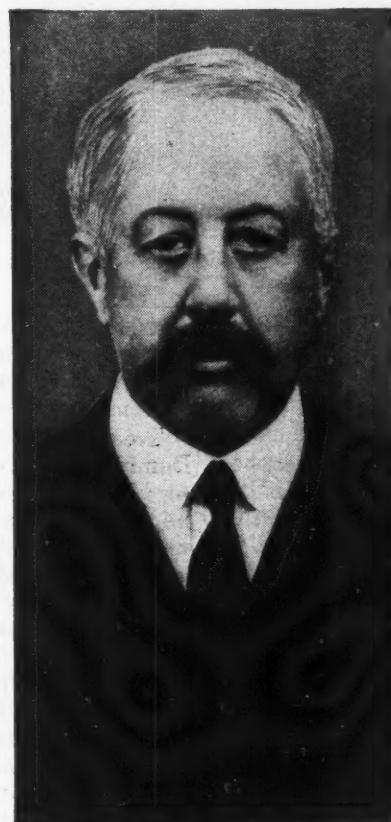
be signed by their plenipotentiaries, but should be ratified by the Crown expressly for the Dominions and acting on the advice of the Dominion Governments after the treaty was approved by the Dominion Parliaments concerned. This procedure has now become an established practice of the unwritten Constitution of the empire. The Dominions do not always participate directly in negotiation, although events since the war show conclusively that the British Government is willing, almost pathetically eager, that the Dominions should.

TREATIES SIGNED SEPARATELY

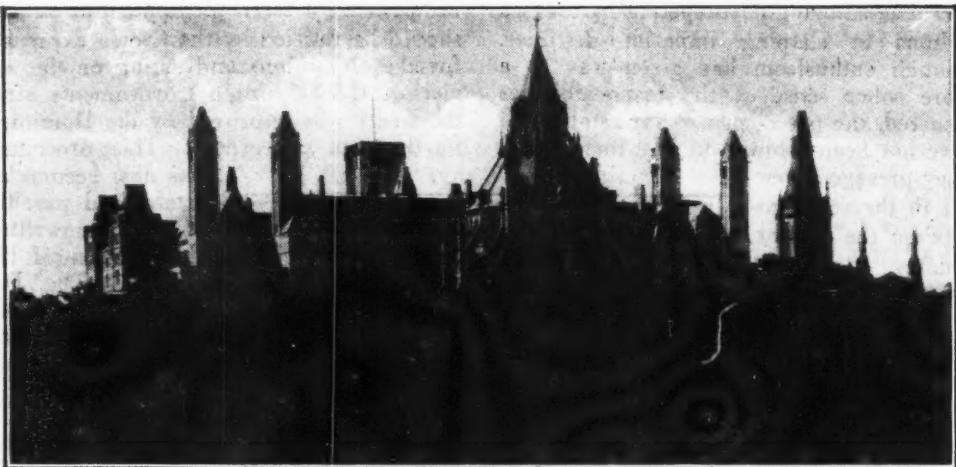
Since the war all treaties affecting the empire, even such treaties as the minority treaties with the new Powers of Central Europe, the various European boundary treaties, the peace treaties with Bulgaria, Austria and Turkey, and the treaties negotiated at the Washington Conference have been signed by plenipotentiaries recommended

by Order in Council of the Dominion Governments and authorized to sign—not on behalf of the empire as a whole, but on behalf of the Dominion by which they are appointed. Similarly all these treaties have been ratified by the Crown on behalf of the Dominions either by Order in Council of the Dominion Government alone, or following a resolution in the Dominion Parliament.

That this participation in treaty-making



THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE
British Secretary of State for the
Colonies



Parliament buildings of the Dominion of Canada at Ottawa

is not ineffective is evident. The proposed Anglo-American-French treaty in 1919 for the protection of the eastern frontiers of France expressly excepted the Dominions unless they should ratify the treaty. Similarly the abortive non-aggression pact between Britain and France in 1920 was declared not to include the Dominions without their consent. Again in the invitation from the British Government to the Dominions to send delegates to the Washington conference it was declared that "the signature of each Dominion delegate will be necessary, in addition to signatures of British delegates, to commit the British Empire as a whole to any agreement made at the conference, and any Dominion delegate can, if he wishes, reserve assent on behalf of his Government." The provision attached to each of the treaties arising out of the Washington conference that "this treaty shall be ratified as soon as possible in accordance with the constitutional methods of the high contracting parties" would clearly have allowed any Dominion to refuse ratification just as it would have allowed the Senate of the United States to refuse. There is good ground for believing that if a Dominion should refuse to sign or ratify a treaty entered into by Great Britain or by all the rest of the empire such refusal would be recognized by foreign States. As early as 1911 Canada refused to be a party to the signature and ratification of the international conven-

tion signed at Washington for the protection of industrial property, and this refusal was recognized by all parties to the agreement.

Treaties must now run the gamut of Dominion criticism before they can be said to bind the Dominions. This criticism might be ignored if Dominion executives merely went through the forms of signature and ratification; but this is decidedly not the case. In Canada, Australia, South Africa, and to a less extent in New Zealand, it is the established constitutional practice that all important treaties must be ratified by formal approval in Parliament. All political parties of importance in the Dominions now appear to agree on this practice. Indeed, the Government of South Africa was taken severely to task by the Opposition for ratifying the treaties of peace with Bulgaria, Austria and Hungary without submitting them to the House, even though these treaties might appear to affect only very remotely the welfare of the South African people.

This ventilation of imperial treaties in Dominion Parliaments, and their subjection to the criticism of public opinion in ultra-democratic and peace-loving communities, is pregnant with possibilities for the future of British foreign policy. Secret treaties or agreements between Great Britain and a foreign power would now be such an absolute breach of good faith

(and good faith is in the end the essential constitutional criterion of any action of a Dominion or of Great Britain which vitally affects the rest of the Empire) that any statesmen of common sense would hesitate to enter them.

There are, however, more effective objections to imperial treaties which should bind the Dominions without their consent. In the event of war arising from such treaties or agreements, the Government of Great Britain could not hope to obtain any assistance from the Dominions unless they wished to give it. In the last war not a single man was drafted, not a single ship was requisitioned in the Dominions by the British Government. Even Dominion citizens temporarily resident in the United Kingdom were exempt from conscription. This right of the Dominions to participate or not to participate in imperial wars is in practice of long standing and has been explicitly recognized in the Irish Constitution. It is declared therein that Ireland shall not participate in any war except by the consent of the Irish Parliament, unless to protect itself against attack. In former days the participation of the Dominions was of little consequence, but the capture of German possessions in Africa and the Pacific by Dominion forces, the pursuit and capture of enemy raiders on the high seas by Dominion warships, the contribution of over 1,250,000 troops to the maintenance of which the British taxpayer contributed not a single penny, were factors in the World War not to be ignored even in these days of huge armies. If the integrity of the empire is to be maintained, British statesmen cannot afford to antagonize the Dominions by attempting to bind them unwillingly to international agreements which there are no means of enforcing. The strand which binds together the component parts of the British commonwealth of nations is will, not force; to use force were to destroy the commonwealth.

Treaties, after all, are only the tangible evidence of foreign policy. If the Dominions had no influence in determining the aims and methods of which treaties are but one outcome, control would be relatively ineffective. Although participation

of the Dominions in the shaping of policy is less general than in treaty-making, there is sufficient evidence of profound changes. The methods of obtaining participation and control are various.

The most important means is through the Imperial Conference. Before the war it was decided that the conference should meet every four years, but this interval is too great and more frequent meetings are very probable. In 1921 the Confer-



LORD BYNG OF VIMY

Governor General of Canada; one of the leading British Generals during the war

ence was dignified by the title "the Conference of the Prime Ministers of the Empire" in order that it should in form correspond to the actual facts. It was not an Imperial Cabinet as it was during the war, because the Dominion Parliaments had taken good care that their Prime Ministers should be shorn of the somewhat vague and wide powers they had then enjoyed. None of the Dominion Prime Ministers had a sufficiently strong following in their respective Parliaments to insure that what they proposed should be carried through. Indeed, the Parliaments of Canada, Australia and South Africa had either implicitly or explicitly instructed their Prime Ministers that nothing done at the conference should be binding until approved by the Dominion Parliament concerned.

DOMINIONS AGAINST CENTRALIZATION

The Imperial Conference can hardly be said to have been a conference between governments; rather, the Prime Ministers of the Dominions were delegates of their respective Parliaments, and delegates who would be held strictly to account. The extreme sensitiveness of the three largest Dominions—Canada, Australia and South Africa—to anything savoring of centralization or of federation over-rides all party lines, and of this sensitiveness every Prime Minister, whatever his party, must take full heed when he goes to the Imperial Conference. The history of the conference movement, which began with the first Colonial Conference of 1887, goes to show that the conference is in little or no danger of being a vehicle for the domination of Great Britain over the Dominions. Indeed the reports of the conferences, though clothed in felicitous language and vague generalities, barely cover the unpleasant fact that the Imperial Government has had to fight a rearguard action against the Dominions at practically every Conference. Not always has it been successful, though retreats have always been made gracefully and in good humor.

Despite the fact that the conference meets only at long intervals, it is the chief means whereby the Dominions do gain admission to the council table of the Empire,



SIR CHARLES A. HARRIS
Governor of Newfoundland

and hence have an effective voice in shaping the course of Imperial policy. That the conference may be effective is evident from the story of the conference in 1921. The chief concern at that meeting was foreign policy and more particularly the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. Mr. Meighen, at that time Prime Minister of Canada, was virtually instructed in the Canadian House of Commons that the alliance was not to be renewed, or if renewed it must exempt the Dominion expressly as had the proposed Anglo-American-French treaty. In addition, the House was lectured by Mr. Rowell, a former Cabinet Minister, on the Canadian view of Imperial foreign policy, and it is very significant that Mr. Meighen pressed at the conference the principles laid down by Mr. Rowell. These principles were that the Empire was to keep out of entangling alliances, that it was to refrain from aggressive territorial

ambitions, that it was to keep distinct in foreign affairs matters which affected a Dominion alone from matters which affected the Empire as a whole; and, finally, because of Canada's special interest in North American affairs, that no question of importance between the United States and Great Britain was to be settled without consulting the Dominion.

Similarly General Smuts laid his policy before the South African Parliament and later pressed it upon the conference. He declared that European squabbles were of second-rate importance and must be expected to continue for years, and that therefore the Empire must withdraw as far as possible from all European entanglements, and that it ought also to keep out of all exclusive alliances "which were a potent cause of war." In Australia and New Zealand also the Japanese alliance was discussed with no little candor before the conference. That the downfall of the alliance and the possibility of dealing with Far Eastern questions at the Washington Conference were due immediately to the determined stand of the Dominion Prime Ministers has been ably demonstrated by

Mr. Simpson in his dramatic account of the conferences, "An Indiscreet Chronicle from the Pacific."

THE WHOLE EMPIRE'S CONCERN

The conference of 1921 went further afield in international questions. The general inquest over imperial foreign policy was opened bluntly by Prime Minister Hughes of Australia. "The whole empire is concerned in foreign policy," he declared, "though this was regarded for many years as the sole prerogative of Great Britain. Wars are hatched by foreign policy. * * * I am sure you will quite understand our desire to know the reasons of your policy in Mesopotamia, in Palestine, in Russia, in Egypt, and your policy in Greece and Turkey. If I have singled these things out it is not because they cover the whole field of foreign policy, but because these matters are perhaps the most obvious. Now, if we are to have an effective voice in the foreign policy of this country we must first of all know precisely how we stand, and reasons for the policy adopted and the extent to which we are committed. I start with



Ewing Galloway

The State Parliament building of Victoria in Melbourne, used by the Parliament of the Australian Commonwealth pending the completion of the Federal Capitol at Canberra



Keystone

LORD FORSTER
Governor General of the Commonwealth
of Australia

and the Foreign Office on important developments in foreign countries, and any other news likely to be of interest or importance in foreign affairs. The British Government seems to have scrupulously observed this obligation. It is quite evident, however, that the Dominions do not always make full use of them. The so-called Lloyd George manifesto to the Dominions in September, 1922, asking whether the Dominions were prepared to assist in the event of war in the Near East, seems to have taken every Dominion Government completely by surprise, apparently because the Dominion Governments had not studied the dispatches seriously.

There are other means as well. Any Dominion Prime Minister may now correspond directly with the Prime Minister of Great Britain, or the Prime Minister



International

LORD JELLCOE

Governor General of the Dominion of New Zealand; Commander of the British Fleet during the war

the assumption that our right to decide foreign policy is not denied." Nor does it seem that the demands of Mr. Hughes were refused. The conference discussed the whole field of policy; it also dealt particularly with the questions of Egypt and Silesia, which at that time demanded immediate attention.

In addition to periodical conferences the Dominions obtain regular information through weekly dispatches from the Foreign Office in London. The British Government has in this way undertaken to supply the Dominion Governments with full information on all phases of foreign affairs. The weekly dispatches include not only the ordinary news given out to the press, but copies of confidential documents, opinions of the Prime Minister

of Great Britain with the Prime Ministers of the Dominions, on matters of "Cabinet importance," the initiator of the correspondence being the sole judge of the importance of the matter in question. In matters of foreign affairs, particularly in the event of a crisis, this right of direct communication is of the utmost importance. Again, any Dominion Government may, if it wishes, though at present they are not availing themselves of the opportunity, appoint a member of the Dominion Cabinet to reside in London as its representative. Such a Minister will have the right of access to the confidential documents of the British Cabinet as well as the right to be consulted and informed in matters of foreign affairs affecting the Dominions.

The Dominions, with the probable exception of New Zealand, are unwilling to be satellites of Great Britain in foreign affairs. The question of the Anglo-Japanese alliance shows that they may have pronounced views on particular matters and that they will not hesitate to press these views to a successful conclusion. This was again evident in the replies to the Lloyd George manifesto already referred to. The Canadian Government replied that the question of rendering assistance in the event of war was for Parliament to decide. It omitted to mention that Parliament was not in session, and that it did not propose to summon a meeting of Parliament just then. Australia, warmed apparently by sentiment because of the Australian graves in Gallipoli, promised support if the Straits or Constantinople were attacked, but demanded fuller information. South Africa replied it was a question for Parliament to decide and that Parliament was not then in session. It ventured an opinion that the future of the Straits ought to be placed with the League of Nations. The South African press criticised the communiqué from the British Prime Minister as an appeal over the heads of the Government and, as such, a breach of international law.

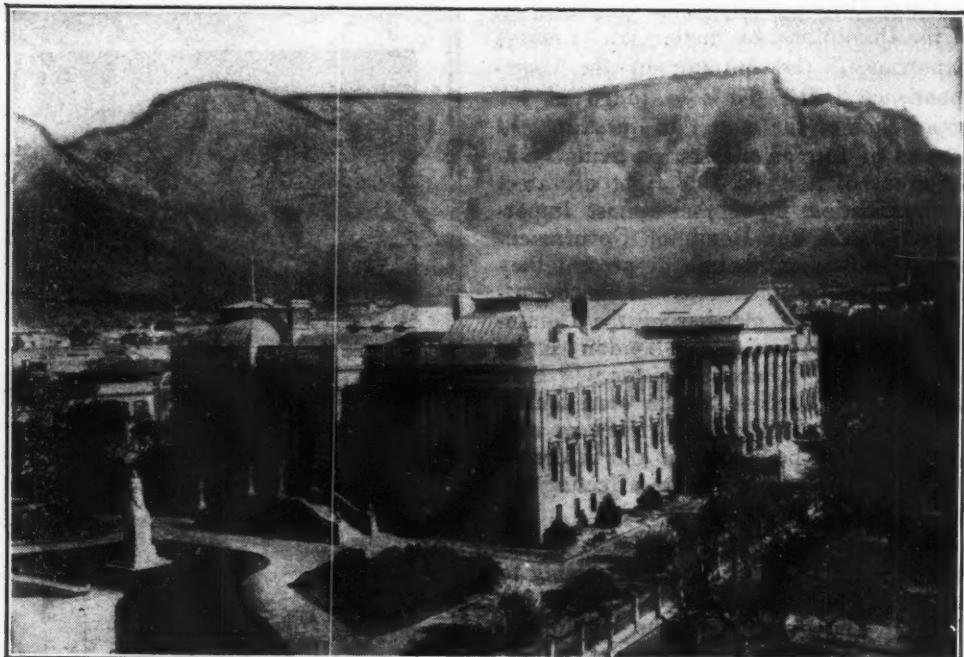
The readiness of the Dominions to adopt an independent attitude appears also in instructions to delegates at international con-



PRINCE ARTHUR OF CONNAUGHT
Governor General of the Union of
South Africa

ferences. For example, the plenipotentiaries representing Canada at Genoa were instructed to communicate directly with the Canadian Government on all important matters; to sign no "treaties or agreements without fully informing the Government of the nature of the proposed treaties or agreements before final action was determined upon"; to see that all treaties or agreements signed were "made subject to approval of Parliament."

Similarly the Dominions have shown their independence in the Assembly of the League. Canada has led the attack on Article X. In the attempt to deal with the allocation of the world's raw materials to which Great Britain committed herself through the Council, Canadian delegates absolutely refused to follow the lead of Great Britain and other leading powers. The Canadians insisted that the League was



Parliament House, Cape Town, with Table Mountain in the background. While Pretoria is the seat of Government of the Union of South Africa, Cape Town is the seat of the Legislature

not a super-State with rights of meddling in the internal affairs of States. They protested that in this case the league was going out of its proper field. They declared that the scheme was European and that Canada as a North American country would not be ruled by European methods. In the question of the admission of Albania to the League, South Africa and Canada successfully led the opposition in the Assembly against Britain and France. To the astonishment of the whole League, the cubs have not hesitated to bait the lion.

The means at the disposal of the Dominions for the control of the foreign affairs of the Empire are as yet greater than the will to exercise them. Hughes, Borden, Meighen and Rowell, Dominion statesmen, who did so much to secure those means, are no longer in office, and their successors seem more chary of entering Imperial politics. Sharing in the control of Imperial policies must entail eventually the moral, if not the legal, obligation of sharing the burdens of empire, burdens which Dominion opinion is not yet quite ready to undertake. The situation is singularly like that in the American Colonies before 1776. The

cry then of "No taxation without representation" was only half an excuse. The real question was: Did the colonies want representation at all and were they willing to contribute to the burden of empire even granting representation?

DOMINIONS UNREADY FOR INDEPENDENCE

Today the important question is not how to obtain a share in the control of Imperial policy, but are the Dominions willing to undertake the correlative duty of sharing in Imperial obligations. And yet the situation is not the same as in 1776. The development of communications has drawn the component parts of the Empire closer today than London and Edinburgh were then. The trade of the Dominions is now their own concern; the old colonial system is gone forever. The Dominions, especially those of the Antipodes, cannot yet look to the future as independent States with equanimity as the American Colonies could in 1776; the British fleet is an ever-present help. Friction is lessening and hence sentiment is increasing between the Dominions and Great Britain. The devel-

opment of autonomy in internal affairs and in such external affairs as affect the Dominions alone has strengthened and not weakened the ties which hold the Empire together. But so long as the Dominions are unwilling to face the future as completely independent states they cannot afford to leave the control of foreign affairs in the hands of the British Government entirely. As yet they can hardly see whither the participation in the control of "high policy" will lead them.

Lloyd George's famous epigram that

Downing Street was once in charge of the Empire, but that now the Empire is in charge of Downing Street is, like most epigrams, an exaggeration. The Empire is not yet in charge of Downing Street; it is not yet quite sure that it wants to be. Meanwhile, the means at the disposal of the Dominions, for the control of Imperial foreign policy, constitute important checks on the British Government. These checks the Dominions propose to exercise at their discretion, for Downing Street, like most able stewards, will bear watching.

FRANCE'S NEW ECONOMIC PERIL

By LOWELL JOSEPH RAGAZZ

The crisis caused by the high cost of living, diminished production, and currency inflation—The franc going the way of the ruble and the mark—Possibilities of upheaval through middle class and labor discontents—Plans to avert disaster

THE four post-war years have brought no lowering in the high cost of living in France. While prices in Great Britain and America have taken the downward trend and are stabilizing at levels considerably lower than those of 1918-19, those in France have in general remained on the war-time basis and show no sign of decreasing.

According to a report of the French Statistical Bureau the cost of food, clothing and fuel during 1922 averaged 4.18 times the prices of 1913. By February of this year the increase over the average of 1913 had reached 447 per cent. Textiles had advanced 600 per cent. and food over 400 per cent., with further increases in the wholesale prices of sugar, flour and chocolate becoming effective March 1. Thus it is evident that the problem continues to be one of gravest concern to the entire country and one of the most serious confronting the Poincaré Government.

The causes of the present situation are many and complex, yet, on a broad view

of events since 1914, they readily resolve themselves into three: (1) an increase in the demand for goods of all kinds accompanied by a decrease in the supply; (2) an increased cost of production or importation in all fields, and (3) the placing of an enormous amount of fiduciary currency in circulation, this being accompanied by a general derangement of the coinage system through the introduction of worthless or extremely inconvenient makeshifts for change.

The increased demand came from two sides—from the army during the years 1914-1919 and from the civilian population following armistice day. The raising, equipment and maintenance of a military body of 7,500,000 men during a period of four and a half nerve-racking years strained France's producing abilities to the utmost. Notwithstanding the enormous quantities and forced production at home and in the colonies, in spite of the regular employment of women and Orientals and heavy purchases made abroad, there was at no time anything but the

slightest margin between essential military needs and available supplies. Prices knew no limits. The army consumed virtually everything produced; never has a civilian population carried on with less.

Nov. 11, 1918, saw a kaleidoscopic change. The need for a constant renewal of war stores vanished overnight. Government contracts were canceled in lots of hundreds; markets were once more thrown open to civilian purchasers. A buying hysteria fell upon a population which had denied itself for more than four years. An orgy of spending followed. Manufacturers quickly changed their output to meet the new peace-time needs or wants, but, even though factory wheels were kept running at full speed, back orders multiplied, and in the mad scramble of retailers to fill empty shelves and of thousands of new would-be merchants to secure stocks the payment of cash with orders became the general rule, and prices for all commodities rose still higher.

The bidding of consumer against consumer filled the pockets of the retail class; manufacturers reaped undreamed of harvests from the competition between merchants to secure their products. "Never in all French history," says a provincial editorial writer, "was there such a reckless expenditure of money. Never have the French people worn better clothes, never have they eaten better food, never have they had better things to drink than they did in the period of exuberance immediately following the close of the great war." Such a reaction to the suppressed, fearsome, and barren life of the war period was wholly a normal one. The mad desire for amusement which packed Parisian and provincial theatres, cafés and casinos at this same time, and which has so frequently been commented upon by students of war psychology, was but one phase of the greater desire to taste once more the joys of life which had been so long denied. The same spirit was found in Great Britain and in America, yet, just as France had suffered more than had Britain and immeasurably more than had America, just so was the reaction there stronger and of greater duration. It gave way but slowly to the traditional foresight and prudence which have been so charac-

teristic of French life, and have not yet wholly disappeared.

LOSS OF MAN POWER

Decreased supplies are due to the crushing human losses of the war, to the falling off in output per worker, to the spirit of restlessness following a four and a half year dislocation of the population, to the failure of Germany to meet her just obligations as to fuel and raw material deliveries, and to the growing impossibility of augmenting domestic production through importations following the failure of the franc to return toward par as against the dollar and pound.

Out of a population of but 40,000,000 France suffered a war loss of 1,350,000 killed and 700,000 permanently crippled. Thus, at one fell swoop, was destroyed a twentieth of the population and, what was immeasurably more serious, a fifth of her male producers. Women and Orientals had replaced men in factories and on farms during the wartime years. The latter have now returned to their native lands, but women workers remain, are a regular feature of industrial life, and bid fair to continue to be so for an indefinite period in the future. So acute is the shortage of hands that recourse has been had to the importation of foreign white laborers. Some relief has been afforded by the arrival of groups of Poles, and the recently signed Franco-Polish labor treaty, guaranteeing Polish workmen the full rights of French workers, will doubtless attract thousands more. But it will be at least another generation before the shortage of man power required for productive endeavor will have been met.

Not only is there a serious shortage of workers; the output per human unit has fallen off from 12 to 20 per cent. following the introduction of the eight-hour day. Though the régime of eight hours has long been familiar and acknowledged as just in America and Great Britain, it was virtually non-existent for any one but public servants in France up to 1919. In 1914, nine or, more frequently, ten hours constituted the worker's day. There was naturally no thought of change during the war, but with the re-establishment of peace, a tremendous cry was raised for reform in this matter,

with the United States and Great Britain held up as shining examples. The fight for a shorter working day was led by the Confédération Générale du Travail, the revolutionary syndicalistic labor organization which had directed an unsuccessful two-year terroristic campaign toward the same end in 1904-1906. Fearing the capture of the 1919 elections by radical elements if the demand were not met, the Government yielded. The eight-hour day became effective in the Spring of that year. The measure has undoubtedly improved the lot of the individual workingman, but the result on national production has been far from salutary. Coming at a time of crying need for goods of all kinds, it has served to curb the normal potential supply, and has played no small part in maintaining the high price level. The Government regards it as a measure forced upon the country by a dangerous group, and employers are frankly hostile to it. Attacks on the law in the Chamber of Deputies and Senate are of frequent occurrence, and it is an open secret that the whole matter will be re-opened by the Government if it is successful in the 1924 elections. Meanwhile, a twelve-hour shift has again been imposed in the merchant marine despite a stubborn resistance on the part of the seamen.

The return of 5,000,000 able-bodied soldiers to civilian life has necessitated a tremendous amount of social readjustment. Men who had spent years on the front returned home with habits and tastes quite

different from those with which they had left. The disposition for steady work had been replaced by a restlessness and discontent which has resulted in a moving from job to job. Men in skilled trades returned to find their places filled by women whose wartime work well qualified them for their positions. Hence they sought other employment elsewhere.

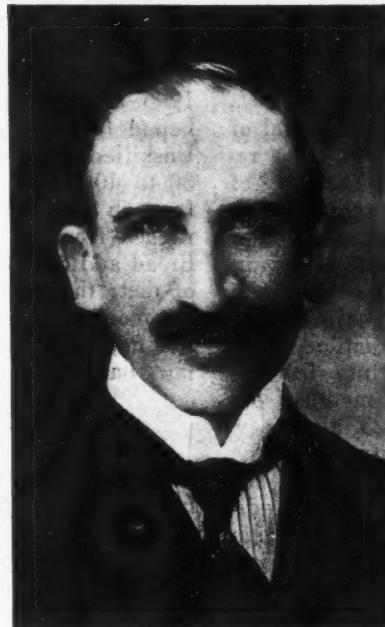
Peasant lads, finding the tilling of narrow strips of soil dull and monotonous after the excitement and companionship of army days, forsook the country and helped to swell the already teeming urban populations. Added to this, there has been the introduction of an alien element, the Polish laborers, both before and since the signing of the treaty with Poland.

SIGNIFICANCE OF RUHR INVASION

Production has also failed to return to normalcy, because Germany, which had ravaged one-sixteenth of France, including her chief industrial section, has consistently violated her

pledges in failing to deliver the quotas of raw materials and money which had been determined upon. She has thus prevented the reconstruction of the devastated areas, the rebuilding of French factories located there, and the revitalization of French industry. The restoration of Alsace-Lorraine, with its factory system intact, has not offset these losses. The occupation of the Ruhr is, in the last analysis, a desperate attempt to bring about a lowering of prices in France.

The difficulties attending the purchase



CHARLES DE LASTEYRIE.
The French Minister of Finance.

of raw materials have increased from month to month. Russia, France's pre-war granary, has not exported a bushel of wheat to France since November, 1917. Grain had already been bought in America, Canada and Argentina under the consortium system, orders being placed in the name of the Government for resale to wholesalers. This assured a reasonably certain supply at equitable prices, for with the British, and later the Americans, as allies, divisions of available supplies and allocation of joint shipping were made. But, with the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, France found an active competitive bidder for grain in Great Britain, while a shipping crisis followed the withdrawal of British bottoms for national use. The results have been an increase in the price of grain and a sharp rise in freight charges. The same has been true in the case of other commodities, such as chocolate, sugar, cloth and leather.

The vagaries of exchange have further served to complicate the situation. The franc, unlike the pound sterling, has not been stabilized, and the eight months from June, 1922, to February, 1923, alone saw fluctuations from 11 to 17 francs to the dollar. Each fall in exchange value has naturally been accompanied by an additional increase in the cost of all foreign imports. Considering that the chief importations are foodstuffs and fuel, all from high exchange countries, the seriousness of the problem facing French buyers will be realized. On Nov. 12, 1922, Henri Chéron, Minister of Agriculture, speaking before the Chamber of Deputies, declared that the week before the prices of representative commodities purchased abroad were nearly three times their production cost within the country itself. The variation between foreign purchase and local production costs has since become even greater, due to the further fall of the franc attending the occupation of the Ruhr. Imports in many lines have all but ceased because of prohibitive costs. Still, because of such increased costs, the value of imports for January, 1923, exceeded that of January, 1922, by 684,000,000 francs.

The increased cost of production can be explained by substantial increases in the price of labor, at present become a

known quantity, and by the rise in the prices of local or imported raw materials, the latter subject to violent fluctuations following the course of international exchange and dragging the former along with it.

There is no question that before the war there were few workers under more unsatisfactory conditions than the French. A ten-hour day was the normal rule; a nine-hour one had been secured in a few fields, but following the failure of the Confédération Générale du Travail to secure results after two years of industrial disorder, culminating in the May Day riots of 1906, an eight-hour day was not seriously hoped for. Wages were extremely low. Unskilled laborers in Paris earned from 30 to 40 francs a week; skilled workers from 65 to 80 francs. Pay in the provinces ranged from an eighth to a fifth less. Bread and cheese were the normal articles of diet; the regular use of meat was uncommon. Sickness and accident insurance was not compulsory. An old age pension law, had, however, been passed in 1910.

POSITION OF LABOR

In contrast to the position of the members of the middle class, which has largely disappeared, the workingman in France for some time benefited considerably through the upheaval resulting from the war. His hours were shortened; his pay was trebled; for a time he was free to enjoy decencies and comforts which he had not hitherto known. An eight-hour law has been in operation for four years, and though a campaign against it is being launched it is believed that it will not be repealed. The Paris wage scale was raised to from 100 to 120 francs per week for unskilled labor and from 175 to 225 francs for skilled labor. Workingmen's home building associations were formed; suburban tracts were laid out into plots; and the extensive building of cottages began. Since 1921 there has, however, been a great change. Some wage reductions have occurred and these, coupled with the steadily rising costs of foodstuffs and wearing apparel, have resulted in a relative loss of fully a third in real wages. The working class is therefore once more

underpaid today and is seething with discontent. There is great agitation for increases in pay and the recently begun miners' strikes in the Sarre and Moselle basins are generally regarded as only the beginning of a widespread movement which may readily culminate in considerable disorder this Spring. While the employers allege that the existing increases over the 1914 wage scale result in a cost of production which does not enable them to compete in the open market with the goods from low exchange countries such as Germany, Italy, Austria and Hungary, the workers declare that this scale is altogether too low and are making every effort to increase it further, this adding still further to production costs.

The prices of imported raw materials have fluctuated as much as 50 per cent. within a few months because of shifting exchange values. The variation from June, 1922, to February, 1923, has already been mentioned. With every fall in the value of the franc, the cost of basic imports has increased, and the value of the same local products has increased to almost the same degree. Thus the total cost of production has been mounting steadily, and has now come to be a varying quantity. Selling prices have not increased in the same proportion as have the costs of production. This is largely due to existing contracts. Profits are therefore dwindling, and manufacturers are discouraged from seeking new outlets except on "specified ratio" contracts. These include the phrase, "It is understood that the prices herein stated are calculated on the basis (as, say, for example) of 12 francs equal \$1, and will be subject to adjustment with the trend of exchange." This system has been in vogue east of the Rhine for over a year, but has not been well received by foreign buyers of French goods, against whom it acts in the face of a falling franc. They hold that the situation is not yet such that German and Austrian methods must be adopted. Thus possible outlets for manufactures are closed, and production further declines. Exports for January, 1923, exceeded those for January, 1922, by only 252,000,000 francs. With an import increase totaling

684,000,000 francs for the same period, January, 1923, showed a trade balance deficit of more than 430,000,000 francs.

The final cause for the present high cost of living in France is to be found in the tremendous amount of fiduciary currency in circulation and in the derangement of the subsidiary coinage system which has been brought about by the general introduction of makeshifts for change. On May 28, 1914, there were in circulation 5,811,868,950 francs in paper money issued by the Bank of France as agent of the French Government in its financial operations. These bank notes were secured by a gold reserve of 3,730,636,031 francs, a silver reserve of 632,645,247 francs, and the balance in high-grade commercial paper. On Dec. 24, 1914, the value of the bills in circulation had mounted to 10,042,899,720 francs. They were secured by 4,158,460,879 francs in gold, 355,951,992 francs in silver, and commercial paper totaling 3,735,988,786 francs. Thus 18 per cent. of the notes were unsecured. On Dec. 23, 1922, there were in circulation 35,952,959,060 paper francs. These were secured by a gold reserve of 5,534,683,000 francs, a silver reserve of 289,137,000 francs, and 2,231,877,078 francs in approved commercial paper. Thus, against approximately 36,000,000,000 francs in bills, reserves of all kinds totaled but a little over 8,000,000,000 francs; 78 per cent. of the paper francs were wholly unsecured.

DECREASING VALUE OF THE FRANC

Costs always rise as the percentage of fiduciary currency in circulation increases. The "falling greenback" of our own Civil War days and the more recent crashing of the ruble, crown and mark are familiar examples. While the paper franc has held its own as compared with the East European and Mid-European standards of value, it is today in exactly the same position as was the greenback dollar of half a century ago. It is decreasing in value, and though this decrease be slow, it is none the less certain, and is reflected in rising prices.

The current circulating medium as regards units of value under five francs

has been in a chaotic condition since 1914. To meet a nation-wide shortage of change, postage stamps, tokens, counters, public utility corporation checks and regional issues of Chamber of Commerce small denomination bills were put into circulation, and are still in extensive though decreasing use. These facts have played no small part in bringing about a rise in prices.

The situation today is critical in the extreme. The middle class has all but been wiped out, while the condition of the workers is becoming more unbearable with each passing month. The cost of living crisis is one of the most serious facing the Government and heroic measures must be taken if even worse social results and political disaster are to be averted. Such measures are now being attempted. An extensive crusade against the consumption of luxury goods has been inaugurated. Through the medium of the press, the cinema and lecturers the French people are being called upon to cease the purchase of everything but necessities. Recipes for inexpensive but wholesome dishes are again being given wide circulation, as in war days. A bill has been proposed to legalize the mixing of rice flour with wheat flour. Labor agencies are making a serious effort to place young men and women in productive rather than in personal service positions. Agricultural conferences are being held throughout the country for the purpose of attempting to bring about a record harvest this year. Whole walls are plastered with placards urging buyers to purchase goods of French origin and thus aid in checking ruinous importation. A serious attempt to abolish the eight-hour day and thus increase production is certain to be made. Poles are being recruited to fill the depleted ranks of labor. The Ruhr has been occupied to secure effective pledges which will improve the national industrial situation. The Government has undertaken through the Bank of France to retire a billion francs of fiduciary currency annually through internal loans. Local Chamber of Commerce tokens and currency are to be retired in favor of Paris Chamber of Commerce fifty centime and one and two

franc tokens having a national-circulating value.

Most interesting of all, however, is the attempt which is being made to create huge reservoirs of supply in the several parts of the French colonial empire, thus decreasing the dependence of the country on foreign sources and obviating the necessity of buying against high exchange standards. With colonial business relations carried on on a franc basis, foodstuffs and raw materials now purchased of other powers could be secured at from a half to a third of the actual prices being paid today. The carrying out of a plan of exploitation of the colonies on a large scale is being urged by Albert Sarraut, Minister of the Colonies. A comprehensive survey of imports and of the colonial empire has been made. This revealed the astounding fact that France, the second greatest colonial power today, is one of the largest purchasers of British colonial products, while her own colonies, frequently adjacent to the very sources of supply for the goods purchased through British channels, are lying in a state of untried virgin richness. Investigation has shown that practically every product now being imported from non-French territory, ranging from cotton and wheat to lobsters and crocodile hides, can be secured from somewhere in the French colonial empire at a saving of approximately 50 per cent., if an active development of the colonies be undertaken.

Such a development would embrace a directed colonization movement, the institution of almost unlimited colonial credits, the construction of extensive railroad lines, the creation of new steamship lines and increased shipping subsidies, all calling for enormous expenditures of money. The matter is one of such far-reaching importance that its discussion has only commenced. The Socialists have shown themselves very hostile to the Sarraut plan, and it seems improbable that the project utilizing available colonial resources will soon be adopted. Meanwhile, vast domains are lying untouched and foreign purchases are continuing to aggravate the question of most direct concern to the great majority of the inhabitants of France today—the high cost of living.

THE CONSTITUTION OF NEW AUSTRIA

By W. LEON GODSHALL

Instructor in Political Science, University of Pennsylvania

REHABILITATION of the finances of Austria in accordance with the plan adopted by the League of Nations, the most important feature of which is the loan of 650,000,000 gold crowns, promises to put that country on its feet again, or, at any rate, save it from the catastrophe which has been threatening it. The democratic Constitution which has been brought into operation for the government of the new republic thus becomes an instrument that may be highly efficacious in reorganizing the life of one of the most valuable parts of Europe. As will be seen, the new Austrian Constitution differs in a number of important aspects from the United States Constitution, since it is the result of an effort to devise the best possible means to create a democratic State adapted to modern conditions.

The Constitution of the Republic of Austria was promulgated Nov. 10, 1920, but copies of it were not obtainable in the United States until the reopening of the Austrian Legation in Washington in 1922. By the constitutional law of Oct. 1, 1920, the republic was declared to be established as a Confederation of the independent States of Lower Austria, Upper Austria, Salzburg, Styria, Carinthia, Tyrol, Vorarlberg and the Bergland, with its capital at Vienna. Thus we have a dual sovereignty comparable to that existent in our own country, with both the National and State Governments supreme in their sphere of activity. In our system of government we embodied two principles, the national and the Federal.

The legislative power of the Austrian Union is vested jointly in two houses, the Nationalrat and the Bundesrat. The former is elective by all of the citizens of the Confederation. The Bundesrat is elected by the Landtagen, or Diets of the provinces. Together, these two houses comprise the Bundesversammlung, or Federal Assembly, which meets in general open session only for the purpose of electing the President of the republic and witnessing his inauguration and to declare war.

The Nationalrat, or National Council, is elected by the people on the basis of equal, direct, secret and personal suffrage of both men and women who were 20 years of age on the 1st

of January of the year of the election. The Union is divided into electoral districts within the boundaries of the provinces, as our electoral districts are allocated within the States, the number of delegates being proportional to the number of electors in each district. The National Council is elected for a term of four years, reckoned from the day of its first meeting, but, in any case, it remains in office until a new National Council is convened. The President of the republic is required to convene the National Council within thirty days of its election.

The National Council can be adjourned only by its own choice, after which it can be reconvened by the President of the republic upon the demand of 25 per cent. of its members, or upon the insistence of the Federal Government. The House selects from its membership a President, and also a Second and a Third President. Its business is carried on on the basis of a special statute passed by itself by a two-thirds vote in the presence of at least one-half of the members. The passage of any measure requires the presence of one-third of the members and a majority vote.

The Bundesrat, or Federal Council, is elected by the Diets of the provinces of the Union, in proportion to the number of citizens in each. For purposes of representation and appointments in this house, Vienna and Lower Austria are considered as separate provinces. The members are elected for the duration of the legislative term of their respective Diets, and must not belong to the provincial Diet which elects them. At the expiration of the legislative period, or upon the dissolution of their respective Provincial Diets, the members in the Federal Council remain in office until a new Diet has elected other members. These provisions can be changed by a majority of the representatives of at least four provinces. The provinces take turns every six months, in alphabetical order, in presiding over the Federal Council. The first member of a province delegation to be elected by the Diet acts as presiding officer when the turn for his province comes.

The members of the National Council and the Federal Council are bound by no restrictions in the exercise of their duties, and the former are not answerable to any authority save the National Council for anything they do in the performance of their duties. In the main, these immunities are more extensive than those granted our legislators, as in the United States members of Congress are privileged from arrest in all cases except treason, felony and breach of the peace.

during their attendance at the sessions of their respective houses and in going to and returning from the same.

All political treaties and others which may be contrary to statute require the acceptance of the National Council before ratification. The budget for the coming year must be presented by the lower house, or National Council, at least eight weeks before the end of the current fiscal year. The two houses are empowered to investigate the conduct of the Federal Government, interpellate its members on matters of executive action, and to demand all pertinent information. Investigating committees can be created by resolution, and must be assisted in their researches by all judges and other officials. All public officials are subject to inquiry concerning the conduct of their offices. Railroad tariffs and communications duties are fixed by the National Council, indicating the centralized control of such utilities not so strongly in evidence in the United States.

THE INITIATIVE AND VETO

Bills introduced into the National Council are either proposals of its members or of the Federal Government, through which latter channel the Federal Council can introduce bills into the lower house. Every proposal endorsed by 200,000 electors, or by one-half of the voters of three prov-

inces, must be placed on the calendar of the lower house by the Federal Government. Here we have an instance of the initiative which is slowly making its way into some of our State Constitutions.

Bills passed by the National Council are delivered to the Federal Chancellor for presentation to the Federal Council through its presiding officer. The upper house possesses a strongly limited veto power over the acts of the National Council, which is exercised by presenting, within eight weeks of the receipt of a bill, written objections thereto, through the medium of the Chancellor. If the bill is then repassed by the National Council by a majority vote in the presence of at least 50 per cent. of the members, it is duly authenticated and published as a law. Also, should the Federal Council fail to reply to a bill within eight weeks of the time of presentation, the measure becomes a law. The Federal Council, however, cannot exercise its veto power upon laws affecting the order of procedure in the National Council, the dissolution of the lower house, the granting of Federal budgets, the acceptance of Federal loans, or the disposition of Federal property.

All acts of the National Council are subject to referendum by the people should that body so decide or the majority of its members demand it.



- Note the very limited size of Austria, as it is now, in comparison with the size of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. The map indicates how the rest of the empire has been divided up among new or neighboring States

Thus, we find provision for the referendum as well as for the initiative. Constitutional laws or provisions can be passed by the National Council in the presence of 50 per cent. of its members, with the concurrence of two-thirds, but must then be referred to the whole people before being approved by the President of the republic.

RESTRICTED BICAMERAL LAWS

Statutes which have been properly passed are recommended by the Chancellor to the President of the confederation for signature, after which they must be countersigned by the Chancellor or by competent Federal Ministers. The statutes then become effective at the expiration of the day of their publication in the *Bundesgesetzblatt*, or official organ of the Government, and, unless otherwise stipulated, extend throughout the confederation. The Federal Council, therefore, cannot be said to be a counterpart of our American Senate, as it is not the equal of the lower house in legislation. This is illustrated by the comparative ease with which the National Council can repass a bill after the upper house has expressed its disapproval.

THE PRESIDENT

The President of the republic is elected by the Federal Assembly, in secret session, for a term of four years, with but one possible re-election. Electors of the National Council who are 35 years of age on the 1st of January of the year of the election are eligible, with the exception of members of reigning houses or of such families which have been reigning houses. Balloting is continued until some candidate secures over 50 per cent. of the votes cast. During his term of office the President is not responsible to any representative body. He must not be engaged in any other occupation or business at the same time. Judicial prosecution, or impeachment, is possible only with the concurrence of the Federal Assembly. In case of disability of the President, or of a vacancy in the office, the Chancellor assumes the position as a temporary incumbent. Should the vacancy prove to be continuous, however, the Chancellor is obliged to call for a new election.

The duties of the President are to conduct the foreign relations of the Confederation, receive Foreign Ministers and Consuls, appoint consular representatives and conclude treaties, nominate Federal officials, confer professional titles, grant pardons and revise judicial decisions in exceptional cases, declare illegitimate children to be legitimate upon request of the parents and other duties as prescribed by law.

The right of nominating Federal officials may, in certain categories, be delegated to competent members of the Government. Certain kinds of treaties also may be left to the negotiation of the Cabinet members. The President must sign all laws passed by the legislative branch of the Government. It will be observed that he does not possess the power of rejecting or vetoing any measures of which he does not approve. He is responsible to the Federal Assembly for the proper discharge of his duties. In order to make this responsibility effective, the body which elected him can be convened by the Chancellor on

the demand of either the National Council or the Federal Council.

OTHER OFFICIALS

The Chancellor, Vice Chancellor and other Ministers are chosen by the National Council. Only persons eligible for the lower house can be selected. If the National Council is not in session, the Chief Committee of that body provisionally selects a Government, which functions until the National Council is convened, when an election is held. This Chief Committee acts as the representative of the lower house in all matters of import when it is not assembled. Upon a denial of confidence by the National Council, they must be replaced. Members of the Government and their representatives are entitled to participate in all proceedings of the two houses and of their committees, including the Chief Committee of the National Council, upon special invitation. Upon their request, they must at all times be heard. Either of the legislative bodies or their committees may require the presence of members of the Government.

THE ARMY

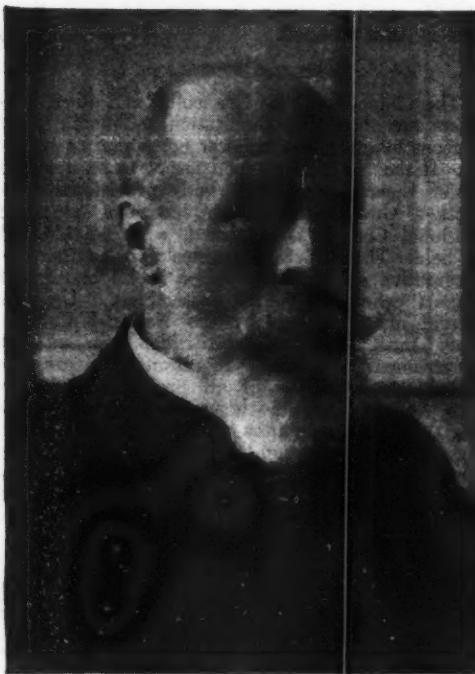
The protection of the republic is entrusted to the Federal Army, which also maintains internal peace and order. The army is under the control of the National Council, but is administered by a Cabinet officer. It is permissible for the provinces to co-operate in the maintenance of the Federal Army providing they comply with Federal regulations.

BOUNDARIES

No changes in territory comprising the republic which also affect the territory of the component provinces can be made without the unanimous consent of the Confederation and of the province concerned. Obstacles to the free interchange of goods between the several provinces, such as duties, are prohibited. The official language of the republic is declared to be German, but other languages are not restricted.

FEDERAL RIGHTS

The Federal Government is granted authority over Federal statutes, such as elections to the National Council and the judicial interpretation of those statutes; foreign relations; emigration and immigration; passports and extradition; Federal finances; money, credit, exchange, weights, measures and standards; civil rights, including that of peaceful assembly, the administration of justice and the press; regulation of trade and industry, such as unfair methods of competition, patents, copyrights, trademarks; commerce, including communications; mining; regulation of navigable waters and safety measures; protection of workers, excluding land and forest labor; health, except burial, sanitation and food control; scientific and technical libraries and archives; protection of memorials; preservation and collection of census records and statistics which do not serve the interest of but one province; police and gendarmerie; military affairs, including the care of veterans and their dependents; and the establishment of Federal ju-



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DR. MICHAEL HAINISCH
President of the Austrian Republic

dicial and administrative offices. In the foregoing matters the Federal Government exercises both legislative and executive control.

In the following matters the legislation is to be Federal, but the execution thereof is left to the several provinces: Citizenship and naturalization; public taxes not raised exclusively or in part for the Confederation; prevention of double taxation and of restrictive or oppressive taxation for the use of public avenues of commerce; munitions and explosives, excluding questions of monopolies; housing; and governmental procedure in matters of penal justice.

The Federal Government is allowed to promulgate laws establishing general principles, leaving the filling in of the details and the execution thereof to the provinces, in matters affecting the organization of the provincial Governments; systems for providing for the poor, education, care of motherhood and youth; protection of society from criminals and other dangerous individuals; rights of workers in land and forest pursuits; land reforms, such as reclamation and agrarian projects; forestry, including pasturage and entomology; building and the right of employment of provincial officials.

Legislation and execution thereof is Federal concerning the adjustment determining which duties belong to the Union and which to the provinces, the participation of the provinces in the Confederation, and the adjustment of appropriations and allowances from the Federal Treas-

ury to the disbursements of the provincial Treasuries. The provincial legislative and Executive power extends to adjustment of the duties of the province to its citizens, the participation of the citizenry in the admission of provinces, and the adjustment of the appropriations and allowances of the provincial Treasury to the disbursements of the citizenry.

Powers not expressly delegated to the Federal Government are reserved to the provinces, as in our Tenth Amendment.

PROVINCIAL DIETS

Provincial Diets, or Landtagen, exercise the legislative power in the provinces. Their members are elected by equal, direct, secret and personal suffrage by all male and female citizens who may vote and whose usual place of residence is within the province. The rules of suffrage must not be more narrow than those governing the elections to the National Council. As in Federal elections, the principle of proportional representation is to be followed, so that minorities will receive Deputies in proportion to their strength and numbers. Members of the Diets enjoy the same immunities and privileges as members of the National Council.

The executive department in each province is elected by the Diet from among others than its own members. Only those eligible to the Diet, however, are capable of election to the Provincial Government, which consists of a Governor, the necessary number of assistants and other members.

The Provincial Government exercises Federal jurisdiction in executing Federal laws when special Federal officers are not provided. The following affairs may be regulated directly by Federal officials within the limits of the constitutional spheres of activity: Adjustment of boundaries, foreign commerce in goods and cattle, customs duties, Federal finance, monopolies, justice, patents, protection of samples and trademarks, engineering and civil technique, communications, Federal roads, river and navigation police, mining, regulation and prevention of floods, surveys, rights of workers, protection of workers, social insurance, protection of monuments, Federal police and constabulary, military affairs, and the care of participants in war and their survivors.

The Diet may, by vote in the presence of one-half of its members, pass a resolution of accusation or lack of confidence in the Provincial Government. Civil service is supervised by an administrative official versed in the law, who also acts as assistant to the Governor in affairs of indirect Federal administration. Agreements among the provinces are permitted only in the affairs of their independent spheres of activity and are then brought to the attention of the Federal Government.

The Provincial Diet of Lower Austria consists of two groups, one composed of Deputies from the province outside Vienna and the other comprising Deputies from Vienna, the capital of the

confederation. Both groups combine as the Provincial Diet of Lower Austria to legislate on all matters of the once-autonomous provincial administration which are declared to be common by the provincial Constitution. Each of the provincial parts has the status of an independent province in matters not common to both. In such matters, the City Council of Vienna exercises the functions of a diet, as does the Curia or group for Lower Austria. Among these matters may be listed the constitution of each section and the election of members to the Federal Council. The Burgo-master of Vienna has the status of Governor, and the City Senate, chosen by the City Council, ranks as the Provincial Government. The common affairs of both parts are managed by an administrative commission, chosen by the Diet from its membership according to proportional suffrage.

COMMUNAL DIVISIONS

Administrative sections and self-administrative bodies into which the provinces are divided are known as local communities and district communities, the former being the smaller and the less important. Local communities with over 20,000 people may, upon their request, be declared to be district communities, thus exercising the functions of both. Existing cities are classed as district communities. The local and district communities are also independent economic bodies, possessing the right to own and acquire all kinds of property, and to manage it within the limits of the Federal and provincial laws, to operate economic undertakings, and to impose taxes.

FEDERAL FINANCES

A Court of Accounts is provided to examine the entire Federal finances, including foundations, funds, and institutions managed by Federal organs. All records concerning public debts of the State, both financial and administrative, in so far as they contain an obligation on the part of the State, must be countersigned by the President Judge of this court, thus confirming the legality and accuracy of the accounts. The court is directly dependent upon the Nationalrat, or National Council. It consists of the President Judge and various assistants. The President Judge is chosen by the National Council upon the recommendation of the Chief Committee. The other officials are appointed by the Federal President, with the advice of the President Judge of the court. Minor assistants are nominated by the latter official.

THE JUDICIARY

Federal Judges are nominated by the President of the republic, or by competent Ministers. They are independent in the exercise of their duties. Cases once assigned to a particular Judge must be disposed of by him, and cannot be removed from his jurisdiction. Capital punishment is discontinued. Courts-martial are permitted only in time of war. The highest court of appeals is the Oberste Gerichtshof [Supreme Court] in Vienna.

In New Austria, as in other European coun-

tries, a Judge is not empowered to declare a law invalid or unconstitutional, as is the case in the United States. Decisions of that nature must be carried to the Verfassungsgerichtshof, or Court of Constitutionality, which also decides whether a given statute should be passed by the Federal or a State Government. It decides all claims or pretensions against the Federal State, the provinces or the communities which cannot be determined in the usual manner. It decides all competence or jurisdictional conflicts between courts and administrative authorities, the Administrative Court and other courts (especially the Constitutional Court itself), and the provinces and the Federal State as well as between the provinces themselves. Its jurisdiction includes decisions on the illegality of the regulations of the Federal and provincial authorities.

This court also has jurisdiction over the constitutionality and validity of Federal and provincial laws. Furthermore, the court adjudicates election contests affecting the National Council, the upper house of the Provincial Diet, and all other generally representative bodies. It hears accusations of violation of the law through the official capacity of the organs of government, such as the Federal President, members of the Federal Government or of a Provincial Government, and a Governor. The constitutionality of decisions or orders of administrative authorities is determined by this tribunal. Violation of International law falls within its jurisdiction. The President of the republic is obliged to accept all decisions of the court without recourse to any superior tribunal.

ADMINISTRATIVE COURTS

Those persons injured in their rights, contrary to law, through a decision or order of an administrative authority, may, after exhausting administrative appeal, take their case to the Verwaltungsgerichtshof, or Administrative Court. Ministers who believe that Federal interests are injured through the decision or order of a provincial authority, contrary to law, may take the same recourse. An infringement of right cannot be in question in so far as the authorities, by free judgment, were authorized by the law to render a decision or an order and made use of such judgment within the meaning of the law. Matters which are excluded from the competence of the Administrative Court are those belonging to the jurisdiction of the Constitutional Court, those over which the decision belongs to the ordinary courts and those over which a parallel authority has to decide or order.

In general, it might be correct to say that the new Austrian Constitution is comparable to the Constitutions of many of our States in that it embraces much detail, not being content with establishing general principles, as does our Federal Constitution. By comparing the Austrian Constitution with the other new democracies in Europe, namely, Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia, it will be seen to what extent all of them have profited by the experience of the United States.

WHY AMERICA REFUSES TO RECOGNIZE RUSSIA

Attitude of the United States Government explained by Secretaries Hughes and Hoover—Soviet's policy of repudiation and revolution unchanged—What is required to rehabilitate Russia and restore security

WHY the United States Government refuses to recognize the Soviet Government of Russia was the subject of a statement by Charles Evans Hughes, Secretary of State, when replying to a delegation representing the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, which he received at the State Department on March 21. Miss Ella Boynton of Chicago, speaking in behalf of the delegation, pointed out that Mr. Hughes had in the previous year taken the position that the basis for recognition of Russia was safety of life, regard for private property rights, the sanctity of contracts and the rights of free labor. These conditions, Miss Boynton declared, had now been largely met. Mr. Hughes replied as follows according to the text supplied by the State Department:

Ladies:

It gives me great pleasure to receive you, and I want you to know that I deeply appreciate the sincerity and the earnestness with which you speak. I know how deeply interested you are in promoting the cause of peace, and I can assure you that I am profoundly in sympathy with your desires and aims. I have done the best that I could in the discharge of my official responsibilities to serve that cause which is very close to my heart.

In speaking to the representatives of your general organization last May I voiced the concern which we felt for the welfare of the people of Russia. The evidence of the last year, as we have become even more intimately acquainted with the great distress into which they have been plunged, has intensified that feeling. The constant and dominant thought in our minds is, "How can we help that stricken people?"

So far as charity is concerned, it has been poured out lavishly. I do not think that any fair-minded person can doubt the heart of the American people and our desire to give relief. But, as you have pointed out, charity is not enough.

The problem is far deeper than that. It is an economic problem, and humanitarian interests, however keen they may be, cannot escape the underlying and controlling facts. Not only do we not desire to interfere with the internal concerns of Russia; not only do we recognize the right of the Russian people to develop their own institutions, but such interference would be futile. The salvation of Russia cannot be contrived outside and injected. Russia's hope lies in Russia's action. It is absolutely impossible to deal with matters which are in the control of the Russian people, and which, until they are adequately dealt with, furnish no ground for helpfulness, no ground for Russian recuperation.

Russia needs industry and trade, but industry and trade cannot be created by any formal political arrangements. However important may be the facilitation of the transactions of industry and trade through political arrangements, still those arrangements do not create the transactions or supply the essential basis for them. You can't support what does not exist. We have in the case of Russia the need of investment. It would not help the Russian people to encourage adventurers, or those who would wish to go into Russia for the purpose of exploitation. The benefit to Russia, through which her productivity can be increased and the basis of industry and trade provided, must come from those who make a permanent investment in Russia, who are there to see their transactions through on a basis of permanent relations, and who consequently so far as they are foreigners, can be assured before they will contemplate such investments that these will be secure and worthwhile. The conditions, which would invite the foreign assistance which you point out is so necessary, are in the control of the Russian authorities. They cannot be in the nature of things supplied from the outside.

Now I may say that there is a good deal of fallacy in what is said about trade between Russia and other nations. Of course, other peoples are trading with Russia, and our people are trading with Russia. Trade is going on, so far as it can go on, but it is relatively insignificant.

If you will examine statistics you will observe that it makes very little difference whether or not any particular Government has recognized the Soviet authorities with respect to the actual trade that is being conducted. If Russia buys she must be able to have something to buy with—that is, she must produce so that she can buy.

LAMENTABLE CONDITION OF INDUSTRY

I am glad to note that agricultural conditions in Russia have somewhat improved, because agriculture is basic in Russia. There is hope in that fact, but agricultural conditions are still far from what they should be. The conditions of industry and transportation are most lamentable. If you need to know what those conditions are, I refer you to the Soviet authority, Mr. Rykoff, and his statements last Fall, which, no doubt, are accessible to you, and the analysis of which, I think, will correct some of the rather optimistic statements that you have made. There have been changes in laws and methods. I would be the last to decry them. It is not a pleasure to me to look into the conditions of Russia and find them unsatisfactory. It would be the keenest delight to me to find that they were quite the reverse. On the other hand, it serves no useful purpose to take these changes that have been made and exaggerate their effect or misconceive the result of them. They are far from adequate to create the conditions which would support industry and trade in Russia. If you will examine Mr. Brandenburgsky's analysis of the civil code and the changes in laws which have been recently made, you will find indubitable evidence of the unsatisfactoriness and inadequacy of those changes. He, as you no doubt know, had a good deal to do with the preparation of these laws. The reason Russian stocks are decreasing, the reason that they have this progressive impoverishment is that they have not yet supplied what is essential. And when I speak of what is essential I am not referring to anything that anybody on the outside of Russia, least of all ourselves, artificially sets up. We are pointing to the conditions of helpful intercourse in the world as it exists. If there were any need of a demonstration of the essentiality of those conditions, the Russian experience would certainly give it.

I recognize fully the distinction between matters exclusively of economic import and the question of diplomatic relations. As I said to the representatives of your organization a year ago, the fundamental question in the recognition of a Government is whether it shows ability and a disposition to discharge international obligations. Stability, of course, is important; stability is essential. Some speak as though stability was all that was necessary. What, however, would avail mere stability if it were stability in the prosecution of a policy of repudiation and confiscation?

In the case of Russia we have a very easy test of a matter of fundamental importance, and that is of good faith in the discharge of international obligations. I say that good faith is a matter of essential importance, because words are easily spoken. Of what avail is it to speak of assurances if valid obligations and rights are repudiated and property is confiscated? This is not a question of the rich or of the poor. It's a question of principle. Only the other day I had a letter stating the case of two American women who had been living in Russia and invested all their savings in Russian securities, and they are poor people, dependent, and they are very anxious to know whether these securities will have any recognition.

ALL FOREIGN LOANS ANNULLED

Our own Government, after the first revolution, loaned about \$187,000,000 to Russia. I may say that we were the first to recognize the Kerensky Government; that Government did not profess a policy of repudiation. Now, what did the Soviet authorities do? In their decree of Jan. 21, 1918, they made this simple statement: "Unconditionally, and without any exceptions, all foreign loans are annulled."

What was loaned to Russia out of our Liberty bond proceeds, and the war loans obtained by Russia before the revolution to enable Russia to continue the war were simply annulled! Now, the United States is not a harsh creditor. The United States is not seeking to press debtors who cannot pay beyond their means. But indulgence and proper arrangements are one thing, repudiation is quite another. I have yet to hear of any change in this announcement of the Soviet authorities. Suggestions which have been reported have always been coupled with impossible qualifications. This strike at the heart of some of the suggestions which you have made in the interest of the principles of religion, which we all have at heart—good faith is the very essence of brotherly kindness. There is no hope for the success of your gospel—our gospel—of brotherly kindness in a world of hatred and in a world which is not animated by the sincerity of good faith.

Here is a simple test. We have in this case no need to speculate, as of what avail are assurances when we find properties taken, without compensation or restoration, obligations repudiated—properties of all sorts, the investments of one of our great life insurance companies, for example.

Not only would it be a mistaken policy to give encouragement to repudiation and confiscation, but it is also important to remember that there should be no encouragement to those efforts of the Soviet authorities to visit upon other peoples the disasters that have overwhelmed the

Russian people. I wish that I could believe that such efforts had been abandoned. Last November Zinoviev said: "The eternal in the Russian revolution is the fact that it is the beginning of the world revolution." Lenin, before the last Congress of the Third Internationale, last Fall, said that "the revolutionists of all countries must learn the organization, the planning, the method and the substance of revolutionary work. Then, I am convinced," he said, "the outlook of the world revolution will not be good, but excellent." And Trotzky, addressing the Fifth Congress of the Russian Communist Youths at Moscow last October—not two years ago, but last October—said this: "That means, comrades, that revolution is coming in Europe as well as in

America, systematically, step by step, stubbornly and with gnashing of teeth in both camps. It will be long protracted, cruel and sanguinary."

Now I desire to see evidences of the abandonment of that policy. I desire to see a basis for helpfulness. We want to help. We are just as anxious in this department and in every branch of the Administration as you can possibly be, to promote peace in the world, to get rid of hatred, to have a spirit of mutual understanding, but the world we desire is a world not threatened with the destructive propaganda of the Soviet authorities, and one in which there will be good faith and the recognition of obligations and a sound basis of international intercourse.

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN RUSSIA

FURTHER light was thrown upon the attitude of the United States Government in regard to Russia by the letter which Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, addressed to C. V. Hibbard, Associate General Secretary, International Committee, Y. M. C. A. The letter, which was made public on March 22, reads as follows in the text authenticated for CURRENT HISTORY by Mr. Hoover:

My dear Mr. Hibbard:

I am in receipt of your request, as well as requests from several other relief organizations, for a survey of the present situation in Russia in its relation as to various American efforts in relief and reconstruction. To begin with, there must be some understanding of the situation in Russia itself, and the following is drawn from the composite opinion of many careful observers who have studied the problems on the ground:

It is impossible to picture adequately the complete impoverishment of a great nation. The war, the revolution, the blockade, the great climatic famine of last year, the trial and failure of communism—all have combined to project a misery and impoverishment the most awful of modern history.

The terrible famines and epidemics have been stemmed through the great relief campaign and the improved harvest of last August. There are some signs of renewed national life from the changes in economic policies, yet standards of living are still the lowest in the civilized world, disease is rife and mortality is high.

The "economic retreat" from communism undertaken two years ago has resulted in impulses to recovery in certain directions. It has restored a large measure of individualism and initiative in agriculture, small trades, and small industries. The agricultural population (over 90 per cent. of the whole) in some measure shows a hopeful stir of improvement because of

the division of the old landlord lands, the establishment of limited right of inheritance, the fixation of taxation with a graduated percentage in kind, and the freedom to market any surplus, have all in some measure restored primary self-interest in production. Progress in recovery has been retarded by the great famine from the 1921 crop failure in the Volga Valley and the Southern Ukraine, from the loss of animals, from the decreased output of agricultural implement factories over many years, and from the plagues of insect pests. Fundamental recovery is taking place, but it will be slow and painful without help from the outside world. The most recent official announcement (for the reliability of which I take no responsibility) of the increase in the yield of the grain tax from about 70,000,000 bushels out of the 1921 crop to about 220,000,000 bushels out of the 1922 crop, together with the announcements that the Government is in position to care for the local famine areas and is able to export anywhere from 10,000,000 to 50,000,000 bushels of surplus, are all at least indications of progress in grain production. But the peasants are still very short of work animals and food animals, and the children in some localities are consequently short of the necessary milk and fats.

In large industry the shift from communism was accompanied by the introduction of "State Socialism," by creation of several score of governmental "trusts" covering the major industries, such as cotton and textile trusts, oil trusts, &c., and by the control of all exports and imports through Government monopoly. The trusts pay wages to their workmen and sell their commodities and services to each other and to the public in replacement of the former system, where all services and commodities were in effect put into a common pool and rationed out to each member of the community. This change has not been sufficient to improve the conditions of large industry, because the impulses which are the real basis for the attraction of capital and brains for reconstruction have not been re-



G. ZINOVIEV
President of the Petrograd Soviet
and head of the Communist Interna-
tional

stored. This, together with degenerated skill and loss of administrative personnel, and consequent increase in costs of production and lower buying power of the population generally, has brought about a large amount of unemployment in the industries. This unemployment introduced a cross-current of underfeeding from poverty as distinguished from famine, and the abolition of the communistic ration leaves this group in difficulties.

CONDITION OF MANUFACTURES

The manufacturing industries showed last year a few per cent. recuperation from the period of communism, the production of different industries ranging from 3 to 35 per cent. compared to prewar. This production was accomplished, however, at financial loss to each trust, and a diminishing of the stocks inherited from the old régime. The currency was inflated to pay these losses until rubles are fifty million to the dollar, and further relapse in industrial production is in progress or imminent. Coal production is about one-third of prewar; in consequence, the cities are always underheated and production and transportation constantly hampered. The production of textiles is

about 25 per cent. of prewar and the population, consequently, is insufficiently clad.

The foreign trade is a Government monopoly, and exports for 1922 were about \$40,000,000, or about 5 per cent. of pre-war. It is announced by the Soviet authorities that the export of grain now in progress is intended to purchase agricultural tools and cotton, but the quantity thus obtainable must be small compared to the needs. The few other exports such as timber, furs, flax, scrap iron, &c., will produce some further intake of raw material or machinery but will not be sufficient to enable Russia's full recovery without the help of inflowing capital. The finances of the Government are so low as to have caused the closing of a large part of the schools.

What Russia needs is economic reconstruction; the re-creation of productivity. Her peasants need agricultural machinery and animals. Her workmen need tools, her industries need raw materials, her factories need new machinery, her transportation needs repairs and equipment. If her large industry is to be restored, she needs skilled workmen and trained executives and the impulse of self-interest that is absent from nationalized industry.

Furthermore, for purposes of restoration, gigantic sums of capital and the professional personnel to direct reconstruction must come from abroad. No doubt a few speculators and concession hunters intent on several hundred per cent. per annum will be willing to take the risks, but the great flow of capital investment at reasonable rates cannot arise until the whole system is advanced to the fundamental position upon which security and confidence must rest.

It is a hopeless illusion that there will be a flow of foreign savings, business, or skill into Russia, by the simple act of official recognition by our Government. In fact, there has been no appreciable investment in Russia from the several countries which have extended recognition, although some of them are exporting capital in other directions. This is not an argument for or against recognition, but simply a statement that the question of restored productivity to large industry rests on other fundamentals, such as the security and the freedom of initiative, and these can only be created through the institutions of Russia herself. The Russian people must work out all these problems in their own way. They might succeed upon the present line by the ultimate abandonment of large manufacture, for it is conceivable that they can do without large industry and establish a low-grade agricultural State dependent upon exchange of food to other countries for manufactured necessities. All that charitable relief can hope to do is lift special groups from utter destitution up to the level of the general poverty and thus to prolong life for the future.

FOUR DIFFERENT PROBLEMS

In any event, it will be seen that there are four entirely different "relief" problems in Russia—the first is the great famine, which was

due to the failure of the harvest of 1921. This had to be relieved last year by food shipments from America, which was accomplished through the mobilization of some \$70,000,000 by the American Relief Administration and co-operating bodies—

The Young Men's Christian Association and its Students' Friendship Fund,
The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee,
The American Friends Service Committee,
The Mennonite Central Relief Committee,
The National Catholic Welfare Council,
The National Lutheran Council,
Central States Volga Relief Society,
The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America,
The Southern Baptist Convention, besides large gifts from Congress and the American Red Cross,

—saving the lives of 11,000,000 people, in addition to which other foreign organizations supported about 1,000,000.

While the crop of 1922 partly remedied the situation, it was because of continued shortages in the vital foods necessary for children that the American Relief Association and co-operating associations continued to ship to Russia the necessary supplies for 3,000,000 children until next harvest. The American Quakers and some British associations are also at work in this field. If the next harvest is successful the continued shipment, even of special foods for children, should not be necessary.

The second problem is disease. The A. R. A., from Congressional appropriation of war stocks and through support of the Red Cross, has carried on a campaign against the spread of typhus, typhoid, malaria and smallpox. The medical supplies were furnished and the Russian doctors organized to the extent that 12,000 hospitals were equipped and over 15,000,000 people were inoculated or vaccinated. Thus the spread of these diseases has been much curtailed. The medical supplies in the hands of the relief organization will last until next Summer, after which time they will need to be im-

ported by the Government or other charitable sources.

The third problem is poverty. This has its most active expression in unemployment, for starvation can take place in the presence of ample and cheap food supply if people cannot buy. As a matter of charity, this can only be relieved by the organization of individual relief. Its primary cure is reconstruction. The A. R. A., in co-operation with the Students' Friendship Fund of the Y. M. C. A. and acting on behalf of various generous individuals, is doing something in this field, as it is now furnishing food and clothing to from 100,000 to 150,000 students, school teachers and professional groups, who are vital to the recuperation of Russia.

The fourth problem is reconstruction. In the large industries and foreign trade this is hopeless until economic fundamentals are altered and large capital flows into Russia. In the agricultural population the problem is not so hopeless, for the needs are less in volume; the impulse to produce is largely restored, and it does offer a field toward which charity can well direct itself with hopes of constructive results. The work of the several American associations in this field are effecting good results and should go on. Being an emergency organization solely for famine, the A. R. A. cannot undertake reconstruction.

The first phase of relief—the shipment of food—will, I hope, be over with next harvest, although this depends upon the harvest itself. The other forms of relief—medical, poverty, reconstruction—will deservedly pull upon the heartstrings of charity for many years to come and offer an ample field for those who can devote themselves to such work, for the terrible suffering of a great people groping for freedom from centuries of wrong must enlist the sympathy of every well-thinking person. But one essential is critically necessary; in order that such American effort shall be in responsible hands and not exhausted in propaganda, it should be administered through some of the above religious bodies. Yours faithfully,

HERBERT HOOVER.

RUSSIAN COMMENT ON AMERICA'S ATTITUDE

GREAT prominence was given to the statement of the American Secretary of State by the two leading newspapers of Moscow, both *Izvestia* and *Pravda* publishing it in full on March 27. Secretary Hoover's letter had been published a few days previously. Steklov, editor of *Izvestia*, in the course of a long article, reflecting the attitude of the Soviet Government, commented on Secretary Hughes's statement as follows:

If delivered in 1918 it would not surprise, but

in 1923 it sounds like a sharp dissonance—an anachronism. In effect, Mr. Hughes returns to the position of America in the days of the Vladivostok and Archangel intervention, the only difference being that he now declares he does not want to intervene in the internal affairs of Russia, but with reference to non-recognition, boycotting and blockade, and the misrepresentation of the real state of affairs, it is just the same.

The writer was unable to attach importance to "Hughes's lofty words of humanitarianism toward the Russian,"

since he himself admitted that recognition was a question of economics in which humanitarianism had little part, and Russia did not conceal her economic difficulties. Steklov continued:

We must conclude that Mr. Hughes, instead of wanting to help in the re-establishment, holds to the principle: When one falls down, push him further. He proposes conditions of help forestalling the possibility of agreement. Despite his verbal refusal to intervene in our internal affairs, he in reality demands radical reconstruction of the inner régime so as to duplicate the bourgeois States.

It is evident that Mr. Hughes is seeking causes to prevent possible agreement. His whole pronouncement is especially designed as a campaign against the tendencies toward recognition of Russia which are progressing among the rank and file of the Americans.

Secretary Hughes's quotation of Lenin

and Trotzky at the Communist International Congresses as evidence of Russian interference in the affairs of other countries was termed "ridiculous" by the editor of *Izvestia*, who added:

We cannot think that Mr. Hughes in the depths of his heart attaches serious importance to these quotations. Lenin and Trotzky are Communists, and at party meetings express themselves like Communists. What is the wonder about this? Even statesmen like Senator Borah, though insisting upon the recognition of Russia, have never asked for recognition of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Steklov insisted that Russia had met and would meet the obligations which she recognized, but her position on the war and prewar debts was thoroughly set forth at the Genoa and The Hague conferences.

Declaring that Secretary Hughes expressed "the yesterday of American diplomacy, while Senator Borah and his followers will express the tomorrow," the article concluded: "Russia does not think that Hughes and his group will succeed long in retarding the progress of the economic rapprochement of America and the Soviet Federation.

FOUR CONDITIONS OF RECOGNITION

In a dispatch from Moscow, dated March 27, Walter Duranty, the correspondent of *The New York Times*, stated that from various authoritative sources he had been able to compile the following summary of the whole question as viewed from the Russian standpoint:

The Hughes-Steklov controversy in today's *Izvestia* is largely an example of crosspurposes in which both appear to be shooting at the air without a proper understanding of the other's position. Steklov asserts that Hughes reverted to the viewpoint of 1921, but his—Steklov's—article shows that he, too, has an "idée fixe" of the American Foreign Secretary as an uncom-



LEONID KRASSIN
Russian Commissar of Foreign Trade

promising enemy of Soviet Russia, and fails to take account of the possibility that the Hughes speech was not intended as a blow in the face for partisans in Russian recognition, but rather as an explanation of the official attitude of the State Department on the subject. In consequence, much of Steklov's sarcasm—and arguments also—misses the mark.

In substance, Hughes's conditions for American recognition of Russia are these: First, admission by the Soviet Government of the national debt to America—the Kerensky loan; second, acceptance by the Government of the principle of compensation for the property of American nationals confiscated since the revolution; third, cessation of revolutionary propaganda in the United States. There also is a hint of a fourth condition in his reference to the new Soviet civil code, namely, guarantees of protection for life, property and business undertakings of American citizens in the new Russia, a point which Hoover puts more clearly in his statement published here on March 24 to the effect that "we require satisfactory guarantees for the security and freedom of individual initiative; only the system and legal code of Russia herself can supply these."

In regard to the first and second points, as Steklov remarks, Hughes seems to fail to take account of declarations on the subject by the Soviet representatives at the Genoa and Hague conferences. It is true that the whole issue there was clouded and complicated by the European political muddle. At The Hague, in particular, there was a question of maintaining the solidarity of the allied front against Russia, which finally played altogether a disproportionate rôle.

Separate Russo-American discussion should be on a much more direct and more practical basis.

Mr. Duranty added that he had asked repeatedly whether the Soviet Government would be willing to acknowledge the American loan to Kerensky as on quite a different status from the allied loans to the Czar, inasmuch as it was made in good faith to a revolutionary Government, to free the Russian people, quite irrespective of whatever subsequent use was made of the money by Kerensky or his partisans. To date no definite answer was obtainable in authoritative quarters, but the correspondent had reason to express the opinion that the Soviet Government would be willing to accept such a distinction in principle. He was informed that

the Soviet Government, while unable to accept the principle of the right of foreign nationals to the recovery of confiscated property—or even as a principle to compensation therefor—has repeatedly stated that it is willing to give preference to such nationals in a demand for re-exploitation of such property on a concession or mixed company basis, or alternatively, for the

exploitation of other property elsewhere in Russia.

Taking these two points together, the correspondent asked the following question:

Would the Soviet Government be willing to grant Americans a preference in an area of particular interest to America such as Eastern Siberia, where, moreover, such rights might carry with them benefits of value to American national interests—supposing the Soviet Government admitted the principle of differentiation of the Kerensky loan from others—and not merely to the interests of American individuals or companies? For instance, American participation in the proposed reconstruction of the Chinese Eastern Railroad is of importance, which is evident at a glance. Or, similarly, participation in other railroads of Eastern Siberia already in existence or projected, such as a line to link Lena goldfields, of incalculable wealth, with the trans-Siberian line at Chita or a point further east, to say nothing of fur, fishery, timber or mineral exploitation on such a scale as to assume a national interest of importance.

This question also was still unanswered in any authoritative quarter, but, again, there was reason to believe that the Soviet Government would be prepared to give it favorable consideration.

Regarding Bolshevik propaganda the following statement was made to Mr. Duranty:

Hughes makes the usual foreign confusion between the Soviet Government and individual statements by members of the Communist International, which as a body is quite apart from the Soviet Government. A parallel often used between Communism and religion permits the following explanation: The Communist International is, so to speak, the church of the Russian Communist State, engaged in proselytizing activities, just as in the English church, of which the majority of English statesmen are members and which is allied with the English State. Only, the devotion of the Russian statesmen to Communism is extremely great, and the proselytizing activities of the Communist "church" are extremely vigorous. You can draw, perhaps, a closer American parallel from the history of the Puritan régime in Massachusetts, or the Mormon régime in Utah.

Americans may say this distinction between church and State is rather subtle, but we consider that it fully justifies the contention that the Soviet Government does not engage in propaganda at all. However, as Hoover says, all of the foregoing—indeed, even the question of recognition of Russia itself—is of less importance to Russo-American relations than the future status of foreigners and their enterprises in Russia, which depends on the legal system and the way the laws are carried out and interpreted.

FACT AND FICTION ABOUT THE SOVIET ARMY

By J. M. SCAMMELL

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The prevailing conception of the strength of the present Russian military organization contrasted with the facts—Imposing parades of selected units no proof of fighting capacity—Why the Soviet Government proposed disarmament to the Baltic States

WITH great pomp and circumstance the Red Army was reviewed in Moscow on May Day, 1922. Those who witnessed the spectacle were much impressed, as they were meant to be. But did that dramatic review prove anything more than the value of the Red Army's prestige? Was it any real indication of military power? Upon more dependable authority than that of those who were present we are warranted in believing that, while the Red Army has been a very effective instrument of diplomacy, it is not the war machine that the Soviets would have us believe.

Let us review briefly the history of this army to discover whether its antecedents warrant the awe which it has inspired. The year 1917 saw the dissolution of the old Czarist Army. The famous "Order No. 1" of March 14 dissolved the bonds between officers and soldiers and destroyed discipline. In November insignia of rank and other emblems of command were abolished. The army became a mob. The year 1918 saw the necessity for a controlled military force, and on Jan. 15 in that year the Red Army was established on a basis of voluntary enlistment for six months. Then on May 29, in spite of revolutionary doctrines, limited compulsory service was resorted to. The increase in the army and the necessity for discipline and skilled leadership forced the Bolshevik chiefs to accept the services of former officers; but to control them and prevent them from regaining their old in-

fluence, commissars were attached to every unit.

In 1920 came the war with Poland. The Red Army, relying upon numbers and the patriotism of the masses to overcome the defects in quality, was increased to 5,500,000 men. It drove back the Polish forces and thundered at the gates of Warsaw. This spectacular achievement was impressive to the civilian. If it had deliberately chosen the gates of Warsaw to thunder at, the Red Army could hardly have made a more fortunate choice; at any other gates it would have found itself immediately in serious difficulties. Poland was a new State re-created out of a territory that had been partitioned between three powers. The difficulties of organizing the new State were enormous and its army was scarcely worthy of the name. The Russo-Polish war was, despite some spirited fighting, in general a war only in name. Two ill-armed and miserably led mobs chased each other about the open fields of Eastern Europe, preserving frequently a discreet distance between each other. When, however, the Polish levies, driven to desperation, galvanized by patriotic fervor and given the advantage of skilled French leadership, turned to attack, the victorious Red Army was completely wiped out. Neither in the beginning nor after the reorganized Polish forces under General Weygand's direction had proved their fighting capacity did Soviet Russia have an army in the strict sense of the word. Whatever they may



A detachment of Russian cavalry, belonging to the Red Army, passing before the Kremlin in Moscow

have put forth in propaganda to mislead the gullible, the Bolsheviks themselves had no illusions. In 1921 Miekhonochin, speaking before the Ninth Congress of Soviets, declared frankly:

The Red Army, which at the time of the Russo-Polish War numbered 5,500,000 bayonets, was decidedly inferior to European armies. It was not an organized combatant force. At the beginning of the Russo-Polish conflict the Soviet Republic did not have a regular force in the European sense of the word. The regular Red Army was not created until after scores of diverse elements had been fused into a homogeneous mass.

MISLEADING APPEARANCES

The reorganization referred to in this statement was designed to produce a modern fighting force, but it has been a failure, since there is no unity in the Red Army. The correspondents who noted the fine appearance of the troops reviewed on May 1, 1922, attributed the changes to this new régime. Among other reasons for refusing to believe that Soviet Russia has now an effective modern army is this:

the time between the end of 1921 and May 1, 1922, was a very short one in which to work such marvels, especially in view of the restricted resources and scarcity of trained officers. Moreover, there has been another reorganization since, in September, 1922, when, nominally at least, universal compulsory military service was introduced. More reliable accounts than those of casual observers tend strongly to confirm the suspicion that the Red Army is by no means an effective military organization, but that, on the contrary, it is handicapped by ills that are widespread, inherent and chronic.

For a more trustworthy account of the Red Army let us turn to the analysis of official or otherwise reliable figures, and to such discussions as those contained in an article in *La Revue Militaire Générale* by the Russian general Rostovtseff and a contribution to *La Revue Militaire Française* by an officer of the French General Staff, who is the head of the Russian Section of the Second Bureau (Intelligence).

La Revue Militaire Générale is under the patronage of the most distinguished officers of the French Army and may be said to be semi-official. Moreover, it is a responsible review printed for the professional guidance of French army officers. General Rostovtseff in previous contributions on other subjects has indicated sound judgment. His sources include official orders and reports and the statements of high officials, while his views are in substantial agreement with those expressed officially—intelligence officers of a general staff do not disclose confidential data without authority—in La Revue Militaire Française. Finally, the official figures indicate precisely the condition which these important reviews disclose. As regards the figures on the strength of the Red Army we may make the following analysis:

	March, 1922.	Per- centage.	January, 1923.	Per- centage.
Ration strength...	1,460,000	100	800,000	100
Field strength...	990,000	57	620,000	80
Combat strength.	751,000	50	300,000	37

This indicates that the principal reduction has been at the expense of combat troops, although the overhead has been substantially reduced. But the staff and staff corps with troops have suffered a lesser degree of reduction. This is confirmed by the following comparison of units:

	July, 1922.	December, 1922.
Divisions, infantry	33	34
Brigades, infantry	13	20
Divisions, cavalry	16	18
Brigades, cavalry	23	3

The July strength is not official, but the December figures are those of Trotzky. While there may be a slight variation due to different methods of classification, the figures indicate that there has been no reduction in the number of units. This confirms the conclusion drawn from the previous tables and confirms strikingly the information of General Rostovtseff and of the French General Staff.

Now let us test these figures by the strength of units. The full ration strength division is nominally 30,000. The full rifle strength is 12,000. At this rate the infantry divisions of the Red Army alone would come to over 1,000,000. But

if we reduce the strength of units by 50 per cent. we have:

Infantry	585,000
Cavalry	119,000

Total combat strength, July, 1922....	704,000
Ration strength at July ratio.....	1,408,000

This checks up with satisfactory accuracy. For the December, 1922, figures we may take the average reported strength of units and see how they work out. There are some divisions, notably two in the Far Eastern republic, that average 10,000. Some run as low as 5,000. The average strength is between 7,000 and 8,000. Infantry brigades run about 3,000 strong; cavalry divisions from 2,400 to 4,000, and cavalry brigades about 1,000. On this basis we have a combat strength of:

Infantry	332,000
Cavalry	57,000

Total combat strength, December, 1922	389,000
Ration strength at December ratio...	466,000

General Rostovtseff makes his calculations on a different basis. Accepting 700,000, the present official strength, he deducts 200,000 as belonging to the Government force or gendarmerie. Where I give 20 per cent. for overhead, the General gives 21 per cent. This makes him allow 395,000 for combat units as against my 389,000. But General Rostovtseff deducts another 45 per cent. for staffs, staff corps with units, political officers and cadres of instruction. This is quite fair. For example, in one particular corps two divisions are combat and one instruction and replacement—or a purely administrative unit. This leaves about 200,000 for the rifle and sabre strength of the Red Army. When we consider that of our 125,000 troops we could put in the field only about 50,000 combat troops the figure for the Red Army is not unsatisfactory.

RUSSIA'S THREE ARMIES

The figures quoted are widely at variance with the impression which Trotzky and the correspondents would give us. How can this difference be explained? The explanation is that there are three separate armies: the Government Army, the Red Army proper and the Labor

Army. Hence, by making distinctions, it is easy to juggle figures.

The Labor Army is composed of citizens called up to labor for the State. At least in as far as this is composed of men rejected for combat duty, or soldiers undergoing punishment, or those detailed to labor for the army, they enjoy a military status.

The Government Army is a complicated organization. In general it includes special units at the disposal of the Central Political Administration. For example, there are two divisions of Communist troops, miscellaneous units such as a German division, a Hungarian division, a division of Mussulman Communists and a kind of Foreign Legion. The cadets of the military schools are also included in this category. In its police capacity it is the chief reliance of the Bolsheviks to maintain their power at home, and it probably supersedes the "Red Guard." It has as a reserve a sort of police-militia. Almost certainly it was the élite portion of this army that the correspondents saw reviewed on May Day, 1922. The force reviewed then was said to have numbered 60,000. That is the estimated strength of the "Chon," or special units of the Government Army. Also the cadet officers were prominently mentioned, and they belong to this force.

The Red Army proper is quite a different body. According to the French General Staff it is a military organization of very inferior quality, of poor personnel, poorly instructed, and without either good or sufficient equipment. All reliable information tends to substantiate this view. Some divisions have only 100 rounds of ammunition per man. In December, 1921, Miekhonochin declared before the Congress of Soviets:

The Red soldiers try by every means, including desertion, to escape military service. Suffering from hunger, they pillage pitilessly the local inhabitants.

The Red Army, in Ukraine and other places, disorganized by the famine, sells its equipment and boots; it plunders on the highways and deserts en masse. No trouble is taken to catch the deserters on account of the scarcity of food in the army. The soldiers are barefoot and half naked.

Subsequent evidence indicates that the famine of 1922 has aggravated this con-

dition. After the review of May 1, 1922, Trotzky, on Oct. 11, issued a general order proclaiming a "Care of Equipment and Matériel Week" for the Red Army, in which he said:

By word and precept, by appeals and commands, we must awake in the Red soldier a constant care of his barracks, equipment and arms. There would have been no need for such a week if, as orders prescribed, all the other weeks of the year had been devoted by the soldiers to care of their barracks, boots, coats, rifles and horses to the degree of cleanliness from which we are at present distant indeed.

This view fits in perfectly with the hitherto inexplicable occurrences connected with the Moscow Disarmament Conference. It appears now that the conference was a decidedly shrewd move. In the first place the proposals themselves placed the Baltic States in a sufficiently embarrassing position. To accept them was to run the risk of accentuating the jealousies and suspicions of the Baltic States and thus play into the hands of the Bolsheviks, while to refuse would permit the Soviets to cry "Militarism!" and to have all the pacifists of the world join in condemning these States. Public opinion would favor Russia. This dilemma the Baltic States avoided by first exchanging views among themselves. Premiers consulted and Chiefs of Staff met in conferences so that the small States might present a united front and avoid bickering among themselves. Upon this manoeuvre the Soviets protested that it indicated bad faith.

When at length the conference met the Soviet representatives put forth the formula of "proportional disarmament," or that each State should reduce its army in the same proportion as Russia. Nothing could sound more fair; but, as Finland pointed out, only land armaments were being discussed and Russia had a relatively large navy. The advantage which this gave to Russia would be increased in proportion as the smaller States disarmed. Poland then pointed out that, in the first place, she was already committed to the program of disarmament under consideration by the League of Nations; in the second place, in view of her position between Russia and Germany, any reduction in proportion to that of Russia while the

German forces remained constant placed her under a heavy handicap in the event of a war with either or both. Further, all the smaller States united in pointing out a common objection to the formula. Each of the small States had to have a certain minimum administrative overhead to care for its army, however small. With the smaller States as a group, therefore, the proportion of overhead to combat troops was enormous, and in case they acted as allies this would not be decreased, but increased because of the necessity for detaching liaison officers to co-ordinate action. Hence any limitation among the smaller States would fall almost exclusively upon the combat troops. Moreover, an army must be of a certain minimum size before it can be organized into higher units or afford to introduce such auxiliary services as aircraft and tanks. For these and other very weighty reasons the Soviet proposal of proportional disarmament could not possibly be considered a fair one by the smaller States.

THE MOTIVE OF DISARMAMENT

At one time it seemed that earnest efforts were being made to reconcile differences and that a satisfactory adjustment was about to be made. But apparently Russia was inclined to make no substantial concessions on the vital principle of proportional disarmament, and the conference broke up. Thereupon Russia did a most curious thing: praising Poland frankly for her attitude, the Soviets announced that in view of her peculiarly difficult position between two powerful States and her previous negotiations with the League of Nations, Poland could not be blamed for her caution, and that, as evidence of her own good faith, Russia would, notwithstanding the failure of the conference, proceed to a considerable reduction of the Red Army. Those who have more faith in the altruism of the present régime in Russia than they have in that of any other Government may accept this as a bona-fide act. But the more skeptical will recall that the avowed and official mission of the Red Army is to war against all liberal Governments; and that at the time of the announced reduction the combat strength of the Red Army

had, according to the figures given above, shrunk 50 per cent. through desertion. Hence we may admire the dexterity that sought to weaken possible adversaries by guile and, when the effort failed, made a virtue of necessity and trumpeted abroad as an act of altruistic policy a condition that would sooner or later be discovered to the damage of the Red Army's prestige.

There is reason to believe that the evils from which the Red Army suffers are such that they will last as long as the Soviet régime retains its present character. As General Rostovtseff has pointed out in a previous article in *La Revue Militaire Générale*, the old Imperial Army suffered seriously from a shortage of trained officers. The irresponsible order of March 14, 1917, practically destroyed the value of those remaining. Before and during the war the relations between officers and men were cordial. The Bolsheviks taught the soldiers to distrust, fear and hate their officers. But soon the Bolsheviks found themselves impotent without their help and were forced to employ them, particularly in the higher command and for staff work. Since they could not trust the former imperial officers and feared that they would regain their influence over the army, measures were taken to create a barrier between them and the soldiers and to keep both well in hand. Among the devices resorted to were the appointment of political agents to each company and higher unit, the assignment of a group of Communist soldiers to each company, and the holding of the officer's family as hostages in case of treachery. This destroyed all efficiency depending upon hearty co-operation, mutual confidence and justice.

With the Communist agents in the ranks reporting weekly in writing to the Commissar on the attitude of their comrades, and with the danger of the lightest word being distorted or misinterpreted, men could feel no comfort, no ease and no enthusiasm, and there could be no mutual confidence. The inevitable tendency was to create a privileged and corrupt class in the ranks and to undermine the authority of the officers. The Commissar, while nominally acting as a check on the officer, had full power over rewards and punish-

ments and enjoyed the confidence of the Administration while the officer did not. This again was inimical to discipline. Furthermore, the Commissar was in charge of political propaganda. One of his duties was to preach the gospel according to Karl Marx. But he could not practice what he preached. He taught the power of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and at the same time upheld the power of a bourgeois officer over proletarian soldiers. He taught the equality of peasants and workers, but he upheld the privilege of a small group of Communists. He himself, a proletarian, occupied a position of privilege. It was commonly believed in the army that during the Polish war the Commissars obtained the cream of the loot; that while they urged the soldiers to strike for home and country, they themselves made for home. Such tales do not need to be true to be effective.

SCHOOLS FOR COMMUNIST OFFICERS

The Soviet Government was not slow to recognize that this state of affairs was ruining the Red Army. It was partly for this reason that schools were started to train Communist officers. Over 120 schools of various sorts have been opened. But their success appears to be doubtful. Candidates are scarce, and the authorities can find only 50 per cent. of the cadets they require. Of these, however, fully 90 per cent. are Communists. The graduates, while perfectly drilled, are said to be less efficient than the old non-commissioned officers of the Czarist régime and they are far from popular in the army. They now constitute only about 10 per cent. of all officers. Results are produced but slowly, and the dissolution of the army goes on apace. Some of the correspondents are impressed by the smartness of the cadets. Military smartness of a superficial sort is a very easy thing to acquire, but it is quite misleading. The Communist cadets may be very fine material indeed, but there are indications that by the time they can be fully trained they may not have any army to command. The largest single group of officers is 44 per cent., contributed by the old "Red Guard" officers, the majority of whom are assigned to the Government

Army. Next come the former Czarist officers, representing 30 per cent. Of these there are two classes: regulars and reserve officers. The regulars are the backbone for higher command and instruction, (Brusiloff, for example), but they are jealously watched and frequent wholesale arrests have reduced their proportion to 5 per cent. of the whole. The emergency officers created during the war are generally well educated and are relied on for staff work. Many of them support the Soviet Government, because they see a nationalist tendency in its present policy and they are patriotic Russians. But they are suspected and disliked by the Soviets because of their patriotism and independence and have to conduct themselves with the utmost circumspection. Former Czarist non-commissioned officers contribute about 15 per cent. of officers to the Red Army. They are, in general, ignorant and brutal, and are fiercely hated.

Until the Soviets can officer an army—already 50 per cent. under-officered—by Communists, the diverse character of the officers is a military defect, though a political necessity. This dilemma roused a heated controversy in 1921, when Miekhnochin disclosed frankly the state of the army and proposed the abolition of the Commissars. Trotzky hesitated. The Tenth Congress compromised: it proposed to transfer the Commissars and give them military command in administrative corps. A similar controversy arose over the Communist nuclei in the ranks, which have been reduced by more than 50 per cent., but as late as June, 1922, at least one Communist General—Phrumze—was demanding their return. If the Soviet Government maintains its machinery of espionage, it is ruining the Red Army as a combat force; but without the Commissars it risks losing control. One attempt to solve this problem was to create a new cadre of Communist officers. As the need of these officers became pressing, their education was hastened. This strengthened the political situation at the expense of the military. The new officers could not command the respect, affection or confidence of the soldiers because they did not know their business and were regarded as political favorites. This, of

course, did not improve the morale of the army.

Russia passionately desires a strong army to encourage revolution in adjacent countries. The political education of the Red Army is directed against Roumania and Poland. Russia would like to be able to weaken England by supporting Turkey, to weaken France by supporting Germany, and to bring to her standards the national and imperialist groups by carrying out the old Czarist policies of expansion in the direction of Constantinople and the Persian Gulf. But a large army means devouring the substance of Russia that is required for economic development. Trustworthy élite corps have been formed.

But this arouses the jealousy of the Red Army. To strengthen this élite, a Communist militia is being formed as a cheap, but reliable second line of defense. This plan is not only economical, but it has the merit of making easier the control of the industrial areas, while it releases the Government Army for field service. But it means slower mobilization and it loosens control over the rural districts. The Red Army changes, but it does not improve. The Red Army is a shrewish wife: the Soviets cannot get along without it, but neither can they get along with it. It is quite true that the Red Army is a terror, but it appears to be more of a terror to the Soviets than to any one else.

RELIGION AND MORALS IN BOLSHEVIST RUSSIA

By EDWIN W. HULLINGER*

Religious feeling in Russia unimpaired by the revolution and by the Soviet anti-religious campaign—Separation of Church and State complete—Civil marriage and divorce made easy—How the Soviet Government deals with commercialized vice

THE bells of Moscow still ring. Revolution, famine and civil war have been unable to mar what for centuries has been one of Moscow's most distinctive and charming features, the evening concerts of church bells at sundown calling the faithful to worship in Moscow's 1,600 churches and chapels. Moscow has more churches than any city of her size in the world. What Mecca is to Islam, Moscow is to Russia.

Every Saturday evening as the great clock in the Kremlin tolls six up there above the white towers which have been quiet for five years, 1,600 men of God draw their robes tighter about them and climb winding stairs into 1,600 belfries, there to convert the entire city into a strange bedlam of harmony and discord

which drowns the ordinary noises of the street and sets the listener to dreaming. From the street below I have often watched the black-robed, monkish figure swaying with the rhythm of the bell, a medieval miniature framed in the whiteness of the lower tower.

Peasant women, passing in the street, face the belfry, and silently drop to their knees on the cold pavement. Drosky drivers, pitching through the deep ruts in rickety carriages, slow down to a walk, and place their caps against their breasts; then they whip up their horses and become

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the same garrulous, jolly copeck seekers of a moment before. Pious country folk passing on the Sophiskaya Naberzchna, pause and face the Kremlin across the river. There is something pathetic in those bent figures and bared heads, bowing to the mute turrets of that ancient religious citadel where all Russia's Czars were crowned, and from which the Bolsheviks drove its inmates five years ago, to fill its monasteries and palaces with "atheist" officials and Red soldiers. During this holy moment of the day, while the bells peal out anew their centuries-old admonition, the real heart of Russia lies exposed in all its tenderness, mysticism, childlikeness and simple beauty.

RELIGIOUS FEELING UNIMPAIRED

Revolution has not taken an iota from the religious ardor of the Russian masses, nor has Government opposition diminished the tremendous rôle the Church has always played in the lives of the Russian people. Although the first signs of a new orientation in religious thought are commencing to show themselves among higher ecclesiastical circles, the masses of the Russian congregations still adhere to the precepts of their ancestors, much as they received them. Like children, hurt and troubled, they have sought the comfort of their mother, the Church, and here, amidst drifting incense, flickering candles, in sanctuaries whose golden vases, silver urns, mosaic pillars and rich altars satisfy every childish dream of Oriental splendor and beauty, they have found forgetfulness, kneeling to the accompaniment of chants of invisible choirs and the intonations of richly robed priests.

It is doubtful if there exists in the world a more beautiful ritual than that of the Orthodox Russian Church. It was this, in fact, that in the tenth century largely influenced St. Vladimir's small staff of religious advisers, specially appointed to investigate all the religions of the world, to cast their deciding ballot in favor of Greek orthodoxy. It was the service at St. Sophia's, now a Moslem mosque, in Constantinople, that so impressed the wise men from the steppes. Through the centuries, the Russian Church has preserved most of its original Byzantine splendor and tradi-

tions. In most remote provinces and tiniest villages I found veritable temples, imposing edifices of white stone, topped by multicolored or golden cupolas and containing veritable Aladdin's caves of gold, treasures and art.

In the silent fatalism of their religion the peasants find a comfort that all else denies them, and in unshaken faith in the "will of God" they have died by the thousands and hundreds of thousands. For days I drove through a plain of cold, lingering death—death in stuffy, foodless huts; death on frozen, snow-banked roads that led not to food but oblivion; death on the lonely steppes, without a living, moving thing in sight to cheer one; death under the eaves of railway stations, while trains rolled away filled to the limit. It was an ordeal to try the stoutest, to break faith in heroes and the self-restraint of martyrs. Yet not once in all that time did I hear one word of hate, a curse, a blasphemy. I cannot remember a single harsh voice in the many homes I entered and slept in. Russia knows how to suffer and die.

In the cities churches are crowded as never before. In fact, many could not have been so jammed before—the Czar's gendarmes, who maintained order in the temples on feast days, would not have permitted such mobs. The congregations are shabby; they always were. The poor always went in rags and stood humbly by as the great swept by in fine raiment. There is now no fine raiment; there are no "great," and the rags are more tattered than ever. Pilgrims still flock every hour of the day to the tiny Iberian shrine (hardly twelve feet square inside) in Moscow, to benefit from the alleged healing powers of the icon within. Formerly the priests used to come out every day at noon and march around the Red Square in solemn procession, carrying the icon, so that all might profit from its miraculous properties.

SOVIET'S ATTACK ON RELIGION

Last Spring, during the confiscation of church treasures "for the famine," the Government plastered the walls of the city with gaudy yellow posters, showing the Patriarch seated upon his piles of treas-

ures amid a ring of famine victims. The posters produced only smiles and shrugs, despite the fact that the attack was justified by facts. More than a year the church had sat idly by with its cellars literally teeming with jewels, whose value was estimated at a minimum of \$500,000,000, while thousands were dying of starvation on every hand. Surely, it was a golden opportunity for the Communists, if ever, to turn the people from the church. Their attempt collapsed, owing to the general lack of confidence in the honesty of the Kremlin. "They won't use the jewels for the famine victims. They'll put them into their pockets; the famine is only a pretext," was the comment I heard from peasants and drosky drivers to college professors and aristocrats. The Patriarch and his advisers cleverly countermoved in the form of a policy of "passive resistance," which enabled the church to assume the pose of a martyr, and actually resulted in a number of open fights between enraged parishioners and Red Guards, sent to take the treasures right from under the eyes of the churchgoers. Several times the soldiers fired, wounding and killing. The eventual arrest of fifty or sixty of the most conspicuous priests and the sentence to death of some of them* intensified popular sympathy for the church and increased the masses' suspicion of the Government. The act was interesting, however, as an illustration of the sense of security of the powers that be, without which they never would have dared it. As witness to the hearings at court, I often saw those gentle, martyr-like fathers, with their long hair and beards, in their black robes, in the middle of a ring of bayonets, and I know now how Christ and His followers looked in the hands of the Roman warriors.

Dramatic, indeed, has been the change in the relationship between State and Church in this, theocracy's last stronghold in Europe. Inseparably united under the Czar, head of both civil and ecclesiastical Governments, the Church and State are now more completely divorced in Russia

than even in America. As in France, the Church has no legal standing other than that of a religious society. As in France, the Church marriage ceremony has no legal value.

The Communists tolerate religious services—I saw no attempt to interfere with them—but they make no secret of their hostility to organized religion. And in Russia, it must be admitted that there is a certain historical foundation for their charge that the Church was used as an "instrument" by the monarchy to retain its political hold on the people. Throughout the centuries, Church and State marched hand in hand, or rather, the Church obediently placed its hand in the State's guiding hand. How complete was its subservience was pathetically illustrated by its attitude in the middle of the nineteenth century on as great a moral issue as serfdom.

MARRIAGE, DIVORCE AND MORALS

The separation of Church and State has exercised a strong influence on marriage, as well as on its corollary, divorce. It has been pointed out that marriage by the Church has no legal value. To be married and divorced in a half hour is an actual legal possibility in Soviet Russia, unless, of course, the queues in front of the respective registrar's tables happen to be too long. Or, if the couple are of a sentimental turn of mind, they may revert to wedlock in the specified time, if the officials are not too busy.

Ease of marriage and even greater ease of divorce, is one of the Communist Government's answers to three of the world's greatest social problems: matrimony, morality and illegitimate children.

The simple act of both persons appearing before a magistrate and signing a marriage contract constitutes the only marriage ceremony recognized by present law in Russia. There is not even the formality of the spoken vows. Both applicants, however, must present themselves.

Divorce is still easier, in that the desire of only one of the two parties affected is sufficient. Either husband or wife may obtain abrogation of their marriage by appearing at the registrar's office and in-

*The convictions in March of high Roman Catholic prelates, and the execution of one of these—Mgr. Budkewicz—in defiance of world opinion, are treated under Russia in the survey of the nations at the back of this magazine.

dicating that continuance of conjugal relations is no longer craved. There is no trial, no appeal. The dissatisfied husband simply signs a paper and walks out a free man. If there are children, however, he does not escape responsibility for support. This latter point, as well as several other correlated legal phases of the divorce question, are still a bit vague, owing to the fact that Russia has no written code of statutes. The only law that exists consists of a few decrees promulgated by the Kremlin and the common sense and conscience of the official. Stripping it of all the sentiment and religious background surrounding marriage in the legal systems of the West, the Communist approaches the institution of wedlock as a purely civil procedure, just like any other contract between two persons. The Church ceremony has no legal value in Russia, although most people still go through the gesture, as in France, where a similar situation prevails.

On Kuznetski Most, Moscow's Wall Street, is a bare room containing four tables. These four tables represent the complete possible cycle of human life. To the first, in one corner, come happy young fathers to register the birth of their babies. To the second, in another corner, come young couples for their marriage contracts. The third line is a curious mixture of pathos and blasphemy; here divorce papers may be obtained. The fourth is the death certificate table. Often there are lines in front of all four tables, their lengths varying in accordance with the severity of the times and the relative movements of the curve of life in these four departments of human existence. The wedding queue always has the headstart, of course, because two persons must appear for every document given out.

There are many similar rooms in Moscow. They are scattered in cities and towns throughout Russia. They take the place of the elaborate social machinery that performs similar functions in the capitalistic countries of the West.

Make it easy for every one to marry, and you remove one of the great causes of illicit cohabitation and illegitimate children. Make it easy for any one to obtain a divorce and why should any one live

with another man's wife, or another woman's husband? In the majority of cases, people would prefer regular unions. So runs the reasoning of the Communists, as outlined to me by one of the veteran members of the party. This reasoning furnished the basis for the Communist Government's approach to several great social problems. That the above formulae do not, however, completely cover the human dilemma, that mere possibility of obtaining marriage papers does not dispose of that dreaded economic factor, one of the worst deterrents to marriage, is admitted in another section of provisional by-laws covering the legal status of children born outside of wedlock. In these instances, the mother has the right to go to the birth registrar and have her child put down regularly, in which case the baby acquires the same legal position as any infant born in regular wedlock. She also may name the father and hold him responsible for part of the child's maintenance.

SOLVING THE VICE PROBLEM

Having thus "furnished every person with the legal possibility to marry," the Soviet Government approaches the question of commercial vice from an angle decidedly in contrast with the customary Continental attitude of "toleration." In espousing the American theory of "suppression" of vice, modern Russia has the distinction of making an interesting departure from the traditional policies which have governed Old World treatment of the problem thus far. "You can't stamp out vice," the Old World has said for centuries, "so it is better to admit the inevitable and regulate it." With characteristic opportunism, France goes one step further, and says, "Since you must regulate it, why not make the 'profession' pay for the process?" So the French Government grants prostitutes permits for specified terms, as in the case of any other professional. In Russia, the Czar's Government also followed the policy of toleration, and the "yellow tickets" carried by legalized street-walkers are famous in literature.

It remained for America, a new nation, unburdened with long experience and the

consequent despair and pessimism of the Old World, to launch the novel idea of war upon vice, on the ground that vice was an offense against society and should be stamped out like any other social crime. The pros and cons of this thesis are debated, I know, even yet in America. The fact remains, however, that the moral level in America is infinitely higher than that of Europe. Other factors enter this pre-eminently, in my opinion, our system of co-educational schools which throws young people of both sexes together from infancy up on a basis of healthy comradeship, furnishing them with a wealth of mutual interests in addition to that of sex. (Russia, by the way, is now also trying an experiment in co-educational schools.)

Russia's experiment with the American policy began under anything but encouraging auspices. Russia had always been known as a country of, perhaps, not immoral, but certainly unmoral proclivities. The Czar's Government legalized commercial vice in the cities, and in the country the peasants were never too strict. Even in many upper circles of society considerable laxness prevailed. Evidence of this is seen in the conventional barriers by which society strove to defend itself. Young men and women of better families were never permitted to go to a theatre unaccompanied, or to remain alone long without a policeman in the person of a chaperon. They could not be trusted. The rottenness of the court was notorious.

The Revolution and general disruption of life which it brought did not improve matters. Many of both sexes were often obliged to occupy the same sleeping compartment, owing to the shortage of rooms. Men, women, boys and girls were crowded promiscuously into the same prison cell. Freed from the reins that had held them in leash, many others hastened to exploit the unparalleled opportunity for licentiousness. At the same time an unfortunate blunder of the Government gave rise to a sudden wave of juvenile immorality.

Without warning, Russia's two sets of schools—one for boys, the other for girls—were abruptly combined into one great co-educational system, and boys and girls of all ages were thrust together in the same school for the first time in their lives.

Completely lacking the community of interests instilled into the youth of America by constant companionship from childhood, their minds naturally turned to the one theme they had in common. The consequence was a terrible tide of immorality which swelled so rapidly during the first years that parents trembled to see their children depart for school. "I was against this abrupt move," Lunacharsky, Soviet Commissar of Education, said to me. "I advised gradual extension of co-education, beginning with the infants, then adding the second class the next year, and so on, as the different ages grew accustomed to each other. The more revolutionary plan carried the day, however." Having gone in for it, Lunacharsky had the faith in the American idea to persevere despite all setbacks, until finally conditions are beginning to improve. Four new classes have now entered, who know no other system, and Lunacharsky reported steady improvement of conditions. The Kremlin will continue co-education, he said, believing its beneficial effects will eventually have an influence on society as a whole.

RESULTS OF VICE "SUPPRESSION"

It was upon this disheartening field that the Commissariat of Health undertook to "suppress" vice in Russia. What was the result? It is too soon to form a permanent judgment. Any great social experiment requires a longer span of time than four or five years to justify or condemn itself. Social forces move too deeply in the human heart to be deviated in a moment. But it is possible to record a few of the surface phenomena.

Certain it is that there are not the same surface evidences of vice in Moscow that there are in other continental cities. Moscow is the only large European capital I have seen whose streets are not open markets for women of easy virtue. Moscow has no "segregated" district. The Soviet Government closed houses of prostitution and annulled the famous "yellow tickets" of the old days.

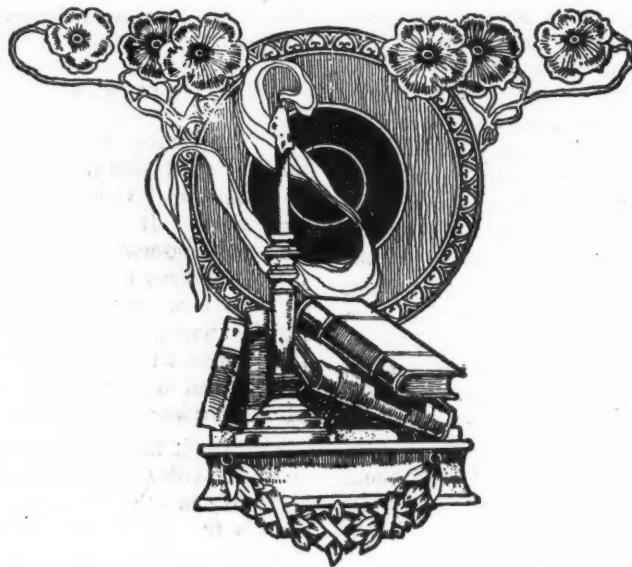
Certain it is that vice has been driven to cover fairly effectively, as in the United States. It is also certain, however, that a

terrible wave of immorality swept Russia in the wake of the revolution, due to causes enumerated above. Communist circles themselves cannot claim absolution on this score, as many prominent party people have failed to live up to the precepts of their credo.

Nicholas Semashko, Commissar of Public Health, insisted to me that this wave is now on the decline. He went so far as to maintain that "conditions now cannot be compared with conditions under the empire, when no Government attempt was made to curb vice." He cited the success of the campaign against vice in the army, which, he said, had reduced the percentage of soldiers infected with venereal diseases from 14—the record under the Czar—to 1 per cent., a new record for the Continent. Even in "moral England" the percentage runs as high as seven in every hundred soldiers, he said. Semashko admitted, however, that the new economic policy, re-

viving the unemployment problem, had been accompanied by a certain increase in street walkers. Hundreds of thousands of women who had been working in Government offices for four years were suddenly thrown out upon the street, often with no means of support.

From all I saw of conditions, and from all I heard, I am inclined to agree with Semashko that immorality is on the decline, as compared with the last four years, but I fear he is a trifle optimistic in his comparison with pre-war days. From all I learned, there is not a great deal of difference. The Government has succeeded in checking the revolutionary wave of immorality, and it has driven vice pretty well under cover. How soon conditions are positively improved over the old will depend upon the success of the two sociological experiments now in progress—the policy of suppression and the plan of co-educational schools.



PROGRESS OF WOMEN IN NEW TURKEY

By DR. EDWARD J. BING*

What a distinguished English traveler in Turkey learned of the life, customs and character of Turkish women from their own lips—Polygamy an outgrown institution—Origin of the veil—Marriage and divorce—Emancipation of Turkish women

My first contact with Turkish women was in Constantinople in the Spring of 1916, on the day of the funeral of Von der Goltz Pasha, the German General in charge of the Turkish Army in Mesopotamia, who did not live to see the surrender of the British garrison of Kut-el-Amara to his troops. Retracing my steps from the huge square on which stood the building of the Turkish War Office, and which was filled with thousands of European and native spectators of the funeral, I entered the beautiful burial place of Sultan Mahmoud, in the Turkish quarter of the city, to visit the tomb of that ruler and of the late heir-apparent, Youssef Izzeddin. I was admiring the beautiful tombstones of the small cemetery adjacent to the mausoleum and surrounded by a high gate of artistic ironwork, when I noticed three Turkish women chatting behind one of the marble monuments and a fourth gathering wild roses from several big bushes that adorned the tiny graveyard. The women's veils were thrown back, and, as I was the only person present besides themselves and stood but a few paces away, they soon noticed a curiosity I could not conceal at what was my first close view of Turkish women. Two of them were of unusual beauty; the third, judging from her age and resemblance to them, seemed to be their mother.

My surprise was genuine when one of the young ladies walked up to me and asked me whether I spoke Turkish. Upon my affirmative reply she said, laughing: "I suppose you have never met a Turkish woman before. Well, you are the first foreigner we have ever had an opportu-

nity to speak to, so this is probably a new experience to all of us." Gathering around me, with a naïve curiosity as fascinating as it was genuine, they questioned me about the life of women in Europe and America, and chiefly about the events of the war. In return I put to them several questions regarding the life and customs of Turkish women, and as to whether the harem system was still general. "By no means," replied one of the two pretty girls, whose name I understood to be Féthié Hanoum; "harems can now be counted on the fingers of one hand. We in Constantinople have practically forgotten this institution; but let me explain—" Here the conversation was interrupted by the entrance of a priest. "Come here again at 3 o'clock tomorrow afternoon, but be sure to wear a fez," whispered Féthié in an undertone, "we must exchange more information." With these words she deftly thrust into my arms the bunch of wild roses she had gathered, and the women departed. Deeply impressed by this unusual experience and by the unaffected charm and confidence displayed by these attractive members of the Turkish

*Dr. Bing is well known as a traveler and scholar. He was graduated from Oxford University, where he specialized in Mohammedan philosophy and Oriental languages, with the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. He spent three years in Turkey, Syria, Arabia and Mesopotamia, and was brought into close personal contact with the Caliph, Mustapha Kemal, Ismet Pasha, Talaat Pasha, Djemal Bey, and with a number of men and women of princely rank. He organized the Boy Scout movement in various parts of Turkey and presided at examinations in schools for Moslem boys and girls. The rank of Bey and Bedouin Sheik were conferred upon him. He has published many articles on the Near East, including interviews with Turkish notables.—ED.

fair sex, I returned to the European quarter.

At 3 o'clock the next day I was back again in the little Turkish cemetery, this time wearing the native headgear. My newly-acquired lady friends were there on the minute, and, fortunately, our conversation was undisturbed by any outsider.

This time it was their mother, Nihal Tewfik Hanoum, who broached the conversation. She was particularly interested in the prospective outcome of the war, as her husband, an officer in the Turkish Army, had been away for almost two years, fighting at the Mesopotamian front. When her curiosity was satisfied, I turned again to the subject of my particular interest, the romance of Turkish woman life. The remarks of my fair companions made it evident that they were of a distinguished social standing and had enjoyed an excellent Western education.

I tried to make it clear that, as far as I was able to judge, the West had erroneous ideas about the

life of the Turkish woman, and that I had the intention of writing about this subject. The reluctance of the ladies to give information about their private life to a stranger disappeared as if by magic. "We want our Western sisters to know all about us," Nihal Hanoum declared. "Ask and we shall reply, and, if Allah will, the West will be informed about the truth."

POLYGAMY AND THE VEIL

"The other day, before our conversation was interrupted, you were just going to tell me about the decline of the harem

system," I began. Féthié intercepted my words: "It is more than a decline; the harem is almost dead, at least as far as Turkey proper is concerned. Practically everybody, except the Padishah, but including princes and peasants alike, adheres to monogamy. Of course, we are still subjected to a number of restrictions, but not to so many as you seem to believe." In reply to my request, Salihé Hanoum, Féthié's sister, now entered into a systematic account of the bringing up of Turkish girls. Her explanation follows:

In the first place, let me tell you that the habit of wearing the veil is not decreed in the Koran. Tradition has it that Ayesha, our Prophet's wife, watching one of his battles, covered her face with her headcloth — possibly to protect her eyes from the sun. Whatever the reason, however, it has become an unwritten law. Far from opposing the habit, we would not give it up for worlds, for we are too feminine to forget that the veil gives us Turkish women the charm of mystery. Until the age of thirteen or fourteen, we dress just like European girls; we take the veil only then.

Our occupations mean-

while hardly differ from those of our Western sisters. We attend to the household and the children, and we girls do not forget that our ultimate occupation will be marriage.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

Nihal now began to speak of Turkish marriage customs:

I made my husband's acquaintance through my brothers. At present the young people of both sexes meet almost as freely as in the West, at least in our class; at the time of my childhood, however, the average Turkish bridegroom could not get a glimpse of his bride until the marriage ceremony was over. The procedure followed by



A Turkish lady of the upper class, wearing the "tshashaf," with the "petche," or veil, thrown back

the wooer in selecting a wife was to send his mother, sister or some woman relative to call on the girl of his choice. In this resolve he was guided purely by the social standing of his bride-elect, or by uncertain rumors about her beauty and intellect. The woman emissary, after scrutinizing the appearance, education and general deportment of the girl, would report to the wooer, and if the latter made up his mind to ask the girl in marriage—and if the young woman and her father consented—it was agreed upon. The institution of dowry, so essential to your Western world, was unknown here; in fact, it was the groom who had to pay his father-in-law a sum in money or in kind, which would be determined by the respective relatives.

Even now, the marriage ceremony often takes place with great pomp, lady guests being confined to the "Haremlik" of the family giving away their daughter, and male visitors remaining apart from them in the "Selamlık" section of the house, in the company of the groom. During the wedding a curtain separates bride and groom, who are left to themselves when the ceremony is over.

Fortunately for our fathers and mothers, divorce was always comparatively easy, and thus many a cruel disappointment of the married couple could be remedied. The formula which makes divorce effective was: "I send thee from me," thrice repeated by the husband in the presence of witnesses. But very few grooms would refuse the wish of their newly-wedded mate to be divorced when the disappointment was on her part.

If, nevertheless, divorce was and still is comparatively rare with us, this is partly due to the carefully codified rights of the woman who is very, very far from being an outlaw. An Oriental, divorcing his wife, must provide all the means necessary to assure her a living on the social scale corresponding to the social position of her family. She is also entitled to all the property and servants she brought originally into the household.

As for slavery, to which you referred before,

it is practically extinct in our empire, except in Arabia. The "slaves," almost invariably colored, still encountered in some Turkish families, are generally the children of Africans bought a generation or two ago, and treated without exception like members of the family, enjoying freedom and often the same education as the children of their masters. If you want to see many of these colored, so-called slaves enjoying their day off, and, incidentally, hundreds of Turkish women of the middle and lower class, spending a holiday in

the open, go to Kiathané, or, as you Westerners call it, "the Sweet Waters of Europe," next Friday. You must tell us about your impressions when we meet next.

Before parting we exchanged our addresses, and I was thus given an opportunity to return the flattering compliment paid me the day before by the presentation of flowers. My flowers were successfully smuggled into the secluded precincts of their home, for a couple of hours later the messenger returned with a note in dainty Turkish characters bearing the words: "Thank you for your courtesy.

Meet us at the usual place at 3 o'clock, French time, Saturday afternoon. Allah give you peace. YOUR SISTERS."

THE SWEET WATERS OF EUROPE

Following the advice of my Turkish lady friends, I took a kaik the following Friday. The native oarsman rowed me along the Golden Horn, through merchant craft of every description, and we soon reached the Sweet Waters of Europe, so vividly described by Pierre Loti. The tributary of the Golden Horn was dotted with hundreds of boats occupied by Turkish women. Their veils thrown back, they spent the afternoon in song and play. Young men were riding along the banks



A Turkish woman of the lower class, wearing the wide "yashmak"

on splendid Arab horses. Scores of women, many of them colored, sat on the grass facing the water, chatting and singing. Gypsy musicians, jugglers and acrobats were entertaining the crowd. Old, gray-bearded men in turbans and long, black robes walked on the path, engaged in conversation, one hand holding the *tespi*, the characteristic rosary now used more for playing with than for prayer. Noisy salesmen offered candies, sugared almonds, *baklawa*—a sort of honey pie—and *mahalebi*, a whitish pudding sprinkled with rosewater. Others carried sorbet in large brass receptacles adorned with bells, and tried to attract attention by jingling a couple of metal goblets.

I passed an elegant open carriage bearing the crest of the Sultan. Three young women, richly dressed, their veils thrown back and exposing the beauty of their features, were sitting inside and evidently enjoying their temporary escape from the imperial harem.

I was about to ascend the hills which separate Kiathané from the modern residential quarter of Shishly when I saw two young ladies approaching. To my pleasant surprise, I recognized Féthié and Salihé. I knew enough about local customs to refrain from greeting them, and but a mutual smile indicated the romance of our acquaintance. I caught, however, Féthié's remark to her sister: "*Bak, geldi!*" ("Look, he has come!") and this confirmed my belief that the girls had carried out their little stratagem to see what effect the singular aspect of the place would have on me.

EMANCIPATION OF TURKISH WOMEN

Next day we had hardly exchanged the customary greeting, "Your coming is joy"—"I have found joy," when the ladies asked me one question after another about my impressions of Kiathané. After satisfying their curiosity I reminded them of their promise to continue their interesting account of the life of Turkish women. "At once, at your orders, O impatient one!" Féthié said with a smile. She began as follows:

You wanted to know about the restrictions to which we are still subjected. You will probably be surprised to hear that we are by no means

the poor little birds kept in a cage you Westerners seem to believe us to be. It is true that we must be at home by sunset. We cannot enter a restaurant or a café. We do not go to the theatre except to special matinees given exclusively for women. Gymnastics now form part of the tuition in our schools, but it cannot be said that the average Turkish woman goes in for sports and games. Although we are fond of exercise, it is restricted to a walk, a drive, or a boat ride on the waters between the European and Asiatic shores of Turkey.

Our education, however, has undergone a wholesale reform, and the emancipation of Turkish women is developing by leaps and bounds. We want you to obtain systematic and authentic data about the general movement of feminine reform in our country, and have prepared for you a letter of introduction to our greatest woman poet, Niguar Hanoum, a good friend of mother's. Let Niguar tell you all about Turkish feminism; she is more competent to talk about it than we are.

I thanked my obliging lady friends for their favor and for the interest they took in my work, and lost no time in calling on the famous Turkish poetess. I was ushered into a reception room furnished in the European style and situated on the first floor of a modern and distinguished-looking apartment house in the Shishly quarter. A few minutes later, a curtain formed by a beautiful carpet of the "Kilim" type, was drawn aside, and I was confronted by a tall, kindly looking lady of about sixty, unveiled and wearing a European dressing gown, curls of gray hair protruding from under the Circassian veil of dainty texture wrapped around her coiffure.

"Akhan wé sakhlán, Bey Effendi" ("Welcome, Sir"), said Niguar Hanoum, advancing with a smile and holding out her hand. She led me into the adjacent room, looking much like the sitting room of any mansion in the West, and adorned with a large writing desk. After the customary coffee had been served, I was offered cigarettes of exquisite Macedonian blend, and while I sat, smoking quietly, the revered Sappho of twentieth-century Turkey embarked upon a veritable lecture about the education, social status and public activities of Turkish women. Her exposition was on these lines:

Public instruction for women has undergone a series of reforms of late. But a generation ago

we were rather ignorant of Western knowledge, and religious tuition formed the principal part of our education. At present we have a great number of schools for women, organized entirely on the Western model. In Constantinople and the larger cities of the country there are elementary and high schools for girls, known as normal schools. In addition to the usual European curriculum, French is obligatory, and a number of these institutions teach English and German

will arrange for lectures, to be held every evening during the month of Ramazan, and men and women will be allowed to sit together in the audience. In fact, a number of women, including myself, will give lectures, and you will appreciate the progress indicated by this venture if I tell you that it would have aroused the wrath of millions but a few years ago.

As for the social status and freedom of our women, you will understand that it naturally



A picture of Turkish social life showing how women used to be veiled when they appeared outside the harem. The painting of which this photograph is a reproduction is from the brush of the new Caliph, Abdul Medjid

also. We have quite a number of training schools for women teachers, and technical schools for girls desirous of adopting a profession. An art school for women, which had already existed years ago, has recently been reorganized and enlarged. A special department for women students was added to the University of Constantinople, and hundreds of Turkish girls attend the courses in pedagogics, hygienes, history, sociology and political economy. Several hundred young women have been sent to Europe by the Government to pursue general studies and do special research at the schools and universities of the West, and these scholarships are steadily increasing in number.

An unprecedented event in the history of the Turkish woman is contemplated this year. The National Society for Knowledge and Education

develops with their education. There are three periodical publications for women, the "Kadinlar Duniassi," or "Women's World," a widely read weekly, being the most notable. It is typical of the present attitude of political and social circles that a couple of years ago a woman editor of this paper took part in an airship flight. The ascent took place in the presence of thousands, and it was interesting to see what they would think of so daring a feat. Far from stoning her to death, however, they cheered themselves hoarse, and the Government decided to have her portrait exhibited in the military museum!

The Turkish woman has also begun to enter the public services. The Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs was the first to appoint female clerks, not so much because they were needed as because the Government wished to make a start

in the official recognition of the new status of women. As the World War proceeded, however, the actual need for employes grew from day to day, and now practically all the Government and municipal departments and important business organizations employ women, who often fill important posts.

We are also active in art, music, literature, social work and charity. I personally cultivate lyric poetry; Halidé Edib Hanoum is known as the author of many a fascinating novel based on Turkish life, and we have quite a number of women journalists, authors and artists. Music is the general hobby of educated Turkish women, and the Chevalier de Hegyei, a great pianist and a pupil of Franz Liszt, is overrun with pupils, including several Princesses of the imperial family.

SOCIETIES AND SCHOOLS

Women's organizations now play an important part in our social and public life. The Red Crescent, the local counterpart of your Red

Cross, owes much of its success to Turkish ladies. Thousands of them have gone through hospital training and volunteered as nurses both in the cities and at the front, while many are active in the workshops of the organization. The "Women's Society for Aiding Soldiers' Families" has a membership exceeding several thousand and spends hundreds of thousands of Turkish pounds in pursuing its aims. There is a special organization for spreading education among the women of the lower classes, the "Bilki Yourdou," or "Home of Knowledge." It arranges for free courses for illiterate adults, prepares backward girls for high school and university training, and helps, teaches and advises women who wish to adopt practical professions. But I believe that the actual inspection of a Turkish girls' school of the modern type will give you a much better illustration of our progress than anything I could tell you about it.

You say you are going to Smyrna. Well, promise me to call on the Principal of one of the girls' high schools there. Although your visit will be probably a unique experience both to you and to the inmates of the school, I have little doubt you will succeed in being admitted, and am confident that your impressions will be favorable.

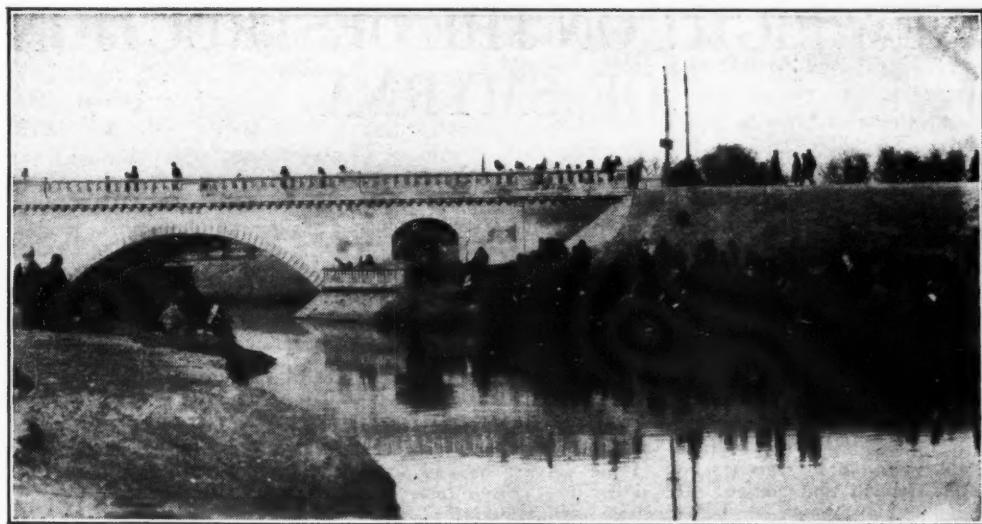
I promised with so much more pleasure as here was probably an unprecedented opportunity to obtain first-hand information about an institution which few, if any, Western men had ever visited. I took leave from Niguar Hanoum with the feeling of an unforgettable experience.

The day came when I had to bid farewell also to my attractive girl friends and their kind mother. When I put my fez on and walked over to Stamboul to meet them in the quiet, beautiful garden of the dead, I approached it with heavy heart. I began to feel that my interest in meeting them had developed far beyond professional curiosity, and made desperate attempts at Oriental self-control when I caught a glimpse of the slender silhouettes standing out from the row of white tombstones in the little cemetery which already began to reflect the dark tints of the nightfall.

We had but a few unforgettable minutes to ourselves. Obliging to the last, Nihal Hanoum reached out her hand from under her charshaf and gave me a letter. "Here is a last surprise for you," she said. "It contains a few lines of introduction to my friend, Mme. Salih Pasha of Aleppo. She was a 'seraili,'" a member of the imperial



The writer of this article in Arab disguise



The typical recreation of Moslem women of the lower class: hundreds of women sitting on the banks of a river, "taking the air."

harem; make her tell you about the life and occupations of her one-time companions. We have tried to show you what Turkish women are today. She may give you an account of what they were yesterday, and then you will be able to judge for yourself how quickly our emancipation proceeds."

We spent a few seconds in silence. I became aware that the sun was setting, and that the ladies would soon have to be at home. "With your permission," I said, giving the customary indication that I did not wish to detain them. We exchanged our addresses.

"Allahah ismaledik" ("I have appealed to God for you"), I said, touching my heart, mouth and forehead Turkish fashion.

"Allah give you life."

"Go with laughter, and come back with laughter."

"Go with splendor."

"Allah give you peace."

I could not help looking back from the street; I had a feeling that I must catch another glimpse of my friends, for it might be the last. Nihal and Salihe were standing behind the gate, waving their hands. Féthié was facing a tombstone, and holding out her forearms in prayer. Then she raised her hands to her face and looked first to the right and then to the left. It was the *salaam-al-melek*, the salutation of the two angels who accompany the true Moslem through life. I greeted my friends once more. I have never seen them again.

[The concluding portion of Dr. Bing's account of the changed position of Turkish women will appear in the next (June) number of CURRENT HISTORY.]



NEW LIGHT ON THE DESTRUCTION OF SMYRNA

By ORAN RABER, Ph. D.

Assistant Professor of Botany,
University of Wisconsin

Below is printed an account of the burning of Smyrna last September, which has all the value of a document, inasmuch as it is from the pen of an eyewitness whose training as a scientist and whose disinterestedness as an American fit him to be an accurate and impartial recorder. Dr. Raber, who is of New England ancestry, was born at Wolcottville, Ind., about thirty years ago. During the war he served as a Lieutenant in the Air Service (Balloon Branch), becoming licensed as an observer. In 1921 he was sent by the American Field Service as a Traveling Fellow to France to study conditions there. He then decided to travel around the world for his own purposes, and it was on this trip that he happened to reach Smyrna just before its destruction. In his investigation of the disaster he had the advantage of knowing French, German and Italian. Dr. Raber has proved himself a distinguished student in his special branch of science. He was granted the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Harvard in 1920, and is now an Assistant Professor in the Department of Botany at the University of Wisconsin.

ON Thursday evening, Sept. 7, 1922, the S. S. Sardegna of the Servizi Maritimi, on which I was the only American passenger, steamed confidently into the Gulf of Smyrna and made its way steadily toward the quay. We had left the Golden Horn only the night before with the customary cargo for the Syrian and Palestinian coasts and the usual number—about a hundred—of deck passengers bound from Russia to Jerusalem. When we left Stamboul we had little presentiment that the Greeks were to be so disastrously routed. True, the drachma was falling daily in value and the Turkish piaster was rising steadily, but news in Anatolia travels slowly and few could believe that what seemed a mere incident in a campaign which had already lasted four years would develop into a world crisis.

As we approached the city of Smyrna we could guess that all was not well. Dozens of sailing ships were riding out before the wind and every possible craft that could be obtained was now being used to carry away a terrorized population. Barks piled high with goods of every description, freighters with the greatest possible sail set, and a few steam craft, were all leaving. The first impression was that of an enthusiastic greeting, but as we moored at the quay before the Grand Hotel it was evident that we were witnessing

the departure of those Greeks who had decided that Smyrna would no longer be a healthy city for citizens of their nationality and who had taken the first chance (and the last one as well) to escape the Turk, destined to displace them soon or late.

Already the Greek soldiers had retreated as far as Smyrna. The van of the retreating columns had arrived in the city that day and were passing through to the peninsula some miles to the southwest, where they hoped to find friendly gun-boats to take them to Greece. This peninsula would place them several hours nearer the homeland, and thus a few hours would be saved by meeting the boats. Unfortunately, these vessels never came, and all night and all next day we watched the retreating army. All day Friday and all that night the retreating Greeks filed by. The quay is the only wide street in all Smyrna and, consequently, as the troops passed through they passed this way. Until Friday noon the soldiers came by with some semblance of order, but from then on there was little to respect and much to pity in the manner of their march. The stragglers, the weak, and those worn out from lack of food, were now dragging themselves along, their rifles often trailing behind them on the ground. When a

soldier drags his rifle on the ground it is a symptom not to be mistaken.

The night of Sept. 8 continued the story of the afternoon. One felt the climax was approaching, but when no one could exactly foretell. The small streets leading into the quay were becoming jammed with the baggage of refugees and the crowds along the wharf were getting denser as time wore on. Would they be able to get away before the Turks arrived? was the question uppermost in the minds of all. Until Saturday morning I had remained on the steamer which was moored against the quay, but feeling that matters were rapidly approaching a climax, I managed to hail a boatman, who transferred me for a few piasters from the foot of the ladder to the wharf, fifty feet distant.

The interregnum was complete. The Greeks had abandoned the field and the Turks had not yet arrived to take possession. On Friday the crowd was decidedly behatted, but already this morning a good sprinkling of fezzes was to be seen. The commotion had increased to a high pitch, and making my way through the crowds of refugees and Greek stragglers I came to the Italian theatre, which had been taken over by the Americans as a house of refuge in case need for such should arise. The Americans, as usual, were calm. They gave the impression that all that could be done had been attended to and nothing further remained but to speed the parting Greeks and welcome the Turks. The Greek-Americans were not so calm. Many had relatives in the outlying suburbs and stories were beginning to filter through of outrages committed by the approaching enemy. Furthermore, the conscience of the Greeks was not entirely clear. These same refugees had in several cases burned some of the Turkish dwellings before taking their places in the ranks of the retreating soldiers and they knew what might be expected.

ENTRY OF THE TURKISH ARMY

One of the American-Greeks at the theatre had just asked for a truck to rescue some relatives from an outlying village. The American sailors on police duty said they could not give him a truck, but in

case he could obtain a car from the Standard Oil Company, promised him two guards and the American flag. This cheered him up and he set out in search of his truck. I volunteered to accompany him and asked the authorities where this small village was located and just where the Turks were. They said they had no maps of the region and were unable to tell. In Vienna about two weeks before I had purchased a splendid little atlas for 25,000 crowns (30 cents) and offered it to them provided they would send me with a launch to my steamer in order to get it. The offer was accepted. A whistle brought to the quay a launch from one of the United States cruisers in the harbor and in a few minutes put me on the Sardinia. Returning with the atlas, I stepped into the launch.

As we approached the wharf the crowd seemed unusually agitated. Appealing hands were stretched toward the launch. Cries for succor were shouted at us and an old woman prepared herself to spring into the boat before it touched the shore. One of the sailors menaced her with his revolver and we jumped out without forcing the launch to come to a complete halt. Looking up the street it was now apparent to us what had caused this new outburst of fear.

The critical time was at hand. I glanced at my watch; it was 11:55 A. M. Yonder distant about 100 yards was the head of Kemal's army, banners floating, bodies erect, uniforms a bit irregular and the worse for wear, but making up in carriage of body what was lacking in immaculate clothing. And why should they not be proud? Here was the army of the Young Turk showing the world that he was a young, vigorous individual and not an old sick man at all. In an incredibly short time this army had driven that of the Greeks back to the sea, and here in Smyrna—that jewel of the East—was to be the setting for this final act in the grand pageant of Turkish victory. What a scene for a triumphal entry! The acropolis of Smyrna crowning the rim of rounded hills—those same hills which had witnessed the entrance of the Greeks four years before, which had watched the progress of the founders of the Christian

Church in Asia Minor, and which later had seen the advance of the Crescent as it triumphed over the Cross—was watching their coming. Along the wharf were the battleships of Britain, France and America, as well as a passenger vessel from Italy and freighters flying the flags of other Western powers. This was a great day for the proud Turk and he meant to make the most of it.

The army came steadily and solemnly down the street. Greeks and Armenians beheld in terror the approach of the conqueror. Would the Turk live up to his old reputation as butcher and thief, or was this the beginning of a new era? Certainly the intentions of Kemal were good. He had issued proclamations announcing that no hostility would be shown the enemy refugees, that they need fear no harm, and that the city was to pass into his hands with as little disorder as possible. He

gave every one to believe there was nothing to fear. In spite of this assurance, an Armenian concealed among the crowds about fifty yards from where we stood stepped forward and threw a bomb at the head of the troops. No one was injured save the Armenian himself, who was promptly shot down by one of the Turkish cavalry. From that instant death and destruction were let loose. Shots filled the air, and until the burning of the city not an hour passed without the report of a musket heard either in the city proper or in the suburbs.

In no journal have I seen mention of this initial stimulus to slaughter given by the Armenian who threw that bomb. The quay became a scene of panic. Some fell on their faces to escape bullets; others tried to rush into the narrow streets leading from the quay, while still others desperately threw themselves into the sea. The *Sardegna* rescued one Greek soldier—a poor sun-baked wretch who had marched without food for forty-eight hours and who now, completely terrorized, sought to end it all in the waters of the Mediterranean. The crew of the *Sardegna*, fearful lest some stray bullets should bore their way through the boat, chopped the hawsers with an axe instead of untying them. When I saw my boat pulling out into the harbor, for a brief instant I, too, had my moment of panic. Second thought assured me that they were not leaving me behind, but were simply going out to a safer distance. By this time the straw hats had disappeared completely. The city was no longer Greek, but Turk. The red fez of the Mohammedan and the brown of the Kemalist were the fashions of the day. Never have I seen a style in headgear change so quickly. A man is told by the fez he keeps, and every Greek subject is now wearing the Kemalist fez as jauntily as yesterday he wore his Greek straw.

LIFE OF THE CITY PARALYZED

The Turkish Army continued coming in and passing through in pursuit of the Greeks all that afternoon. The administration of the city was taken over by the Kemalists. The foreigners in the city began to hope that the trouble aroused by the foolish Armenian would be quickly



DR. ORAN RABER

Assistant Professor, Wisconsin University, who witnessed the burning of Smyrna in September, 1922

forgotten and all would go well. The cafés, however, were deserted, and the horse cars, which until that morning had been plying their way along the quay, were no longer visible. Houses that during the morning had been open were now tightly closed with shutters drawn. The city seemed to be preparing for a long nap. That afternoon I made my way back to the Sardegna. Conditions there were not the most favorable. The Russians on board were beginning to fear for their food supply. The trip had already been prolonged two days, with good prospects of further delay. Several wealthy Italians had taken over the saloon and were using the boat as a refuge from the storm on land. They were saved along with their stocks and securities, and wine was flowing freely. The contrast between the saloon and the deck was becoming ominously greater and greater. During the evening stray shots were frequently heard, and this state of affairs continued all through the night. Sunday it was much the same. The city continued dead. No blinds were opened. The cafés were still deserted. The Armenians, Italians and Greeks had sought refuge either in their homes, in their consulates or in the churches. The rich seem in times of need to rely more upon their Governments while the poor find consolation in their religion. This probably explains why the consulate crowds had a greater air of respectability than those at the churches.

On Monday morning Kemal issued further proclamations. He urged the immediate pacification of the populace, the opening of all cafés and shops and the speedy return to normalcy. He insisted that the law-abiding citizens would be protected, and ordered that all foreign populations surrender their arms and munitions. The Armenians were especially afraid; they pretended to fear an ambush. While the soldiers had up to this time been kept fairly well under control, there had been some massacres committed by camp followers as well as by the Kurds, who made up a part of the fighting strength of the army of occupation. The rumors of these massacres tended to stir up feeling against the Turks, who, in turn, were working themselves into a condition

in which they would feel like committing more outrages.

A Turk who had paid his passage to Smyrna, but who had not debarked, was found carrying a revolver and was ordered to leave the Sardegna. I took advantage of this opportunity to enter the city again. The British Consulate had been closed. The American Consulate was trying to look after both British and American interests. The massacres reported the night before were mostly among the Armenians. In fact, before the fire only a few Greeks were killed by the Kurds and camp followers. An Armenian friend of mine on board the Sardegna, bound from Stamboul to Tripoli, had planned to meet his brother at Smyrna. He asked me if I would go to his hotel on the quay and inquire for him. First, I asked the American Consul whether such a procedure would be safe and told him of the case. He insisted that the American Government at that moment did not consider it wise to interfere at all in the Armenian question; that it was not a time for protests, and further recommended that I do not bother myself concerning this man. In order to make sure, I asked about the situation from some young Kemalists, who not only wore the Kemal fez, but were also wearing large photographs of Kemal pinned to their coats. They admitted that there had been massacres the night before. They said that they themselves, as Turks, would be afraid to make inquiries concerning Armenians at that moment and advised me not to make inquiries for two reasons. First, it would bring suspicion upon myself and I might not be permitted to return to the steamer. Secondly, to inquire about the Armenian might bring him into danger in case he had thus far escaped; it would merely be calling attention to a possible victim. Thinking that this was good advice and that either reason was quite sufficient, I dropped the matter and never learned whether that particular man escaped or not.

The town on Monday was more alive than previously. The cafés were still closed, food was scarce, and aside from the quay there was practically no movement on the streets. In this main thoroughfare, however, many young men were

strolling about to see what might be in progress. Officials from the various consulates were hurrying about their business, each carrying a little flag to show what great power they represented, and to serve notice on the world that they were neither Greek nor Armenian. Many enthusiasts were wearing the picture of Kemal in addition to the brown fez. The quay was rather lively, but the minute one entered the side streets all indications of life ceased. These streets were generally guarded by Turkish troops, but if one had good eyes he could see here and there a body lying in the gutter where the night before some wandering Greek or Armenian (probably the latter) had failed to reach his home in safety and had paid with his life for the privilege of stepping outside his door. The bodies had not been removed, but were left as warnings to others that this was no time for play.

Tuesday was set aside as a day for general pacification. That day all arms were to be handed over. New proclamations were issued. A café here and there reluctantly opened its doors. The Armenians did not hand over their arms. Their church in the southeast section of the Armenian quarter served as a place of refuge, as well as an arsenal, for its communists. They feared to trust the Turks and insisted that this was merely a ruse to separate them from their arms. Whether their fears were well grounded we shall never know. The night before, however, there had been few additional massacres.

Wednesday (Sept. 13) started beautifully. The horses began again to drag their little cars along the rails. A few more cafés and places of business opened. The wealthy Italians who had used the Sardegna as a rich man's retreat—a floating café—began to regain their courage and their confidence in their allies. They went back in a body to the city. Everything seemed to be progressing most satisfactorily. But back in the neighborhood of the Armenian Church things were not going so well. The proclamations of Kemal were ignored, and on this Wednesday morning a patrol of Turkish infantry was sent to the church to demand the surrender of the arms and ammunition which were concealed there. This patrol was insuffi-

cient. The Armenians made a sally from the building and repulsed the Turks. The Turks then threw a bomb into the church, which set it on fire and exploded the stored munitions. This happened about 10 A. M.

That little fire was to develop into a holocaust, and before forty-eight hours the beautiful city of Smyrna was to be a mass of ashes and cinders. The Armenians fled from the church to their neighboring houses. Instead of attempting to extinguish the fire, the Turks, thoroughly enraged, aided and directed it by petrol. Kemal no longer had control of his forces, and from that time till Friday morning the city was the property of the strongest and least principled. In the papers there was much discussion as to who started the fire. The Turks say the Greeks and Armenians burned the city, and they say it was the Turks. From what I saw and from evidence collected from both Turks and Greeks, there is only one conclusion: The burning of Smyrna was the work of the Turks. Why should the Greeks burn their own houses and endanger their own lives? Why was the fire started in the southeast section of the Greek and Armenian quarter at a time when there was a strong breeze from the southeast, a breeze which drove the flames over the Greek and Armenian sections and then down to the quay, wiping out the business section? If the Greeks had burned the city, would they have left the Turkish section practically intact?

About 5 P. M. it was plainly perceived that the real troubles of Smyrna were just commencing. The foreign consulates near the water's edge saw that the flames were destined to reach them in time. What was to be done? About dark the occupants of the doomed region began to leave their homes and gather at the quay side, where they prayed for help from the boats along the shore. But Governments are slow to begin rescue work. They never seem to be able to forecast, and while all Wednesday afternoon should have been devoted to the rescue of the homeless, practically no one was taken from the quay before 8 o'clock that evening. This should be a lasting shame to all nations with boats in the harbor of Smyrna. Why was it neces-

sary to wait to begin the work of rescue until the quay became so jammed with terrorized souls that they were pushing each other into the water?

As the night wore on, the flames leaped higher and higher. The screams of the frantic mob on the quay could be easily heard a mile distant. There was a choice of three kinds of death: the fire behind, the Turks waiting at the side streets, and the ocean in front. As men and women left their homes to rush down to the sea, Kurds watching in the streets attacked, robbed and killed at leisure. Fathers were separated from children and husbands from wives. In modern chronicles there has probably been nothing to compare with the night of Sept. 13 in Smyrna. Soldiers even as high in rank as captains stooped to robbery and murder. All the base passions which man is capable of feeling and responding to were released that night and from sunset to sunrise there was in Smyrna a veritable hell on earth—a perfect orgy of violence and crime.

On the Sardegna the rescue work continued all night and until about 10 o'clock in the morning. Women half clothed and pregnant were dragged up the ladder only to fall exhausted on the deck. Children, haggard and half dead, were crying for bread, while young mothers sat on the decks trying to squeeze out a few drops of milk from their own impoverished bodies. Men were taken on board without one stitch of clothing. At 10 A. M. Thursday we already had more on board than we had food for. All later arrivals were rejected. Here is a woman who refuses to leave. She has been rowing about in a small boat all night. With wild eyes and hair streaming down her face she kneels in the bottom of her frail craft and prays to be taken aboard with her son, a lad of about twelve. The Captain of the Sardegna tells her the boat is full and she must go to some neighboring vessel. She continues to beg and plead. The Captain is obdurate. She then says: "Well, it is no use; I can go no further," and with a tragic gesture throws herself into the water. What can one do? Of course, she is picked up and among the masses of misery she finds a little corner where she can weep out her thank-

fulness that after all she and her son are alive, even though she has seen her husband killed, and her daughter is Heaven knows where.

All day Thursday the fire rages and all day boats are seen rowing about from ship to ship seeking admission. Yonder passes a lighter carrying refugees to a boat further out in the harbor, and our poor wretches, anxious for the safety of friends and loved ones, call out their names. Thus the morning passes. In the afternoon we observe the first floating body, a Greek soldier lying on his back. Stories have come to America of bodies floating so thickly in the harbor that it was difficult to row between them. These stories are exaggerated. There were many bodies, but they did not block the traffic. Saturday morning in the space of a half hour I counted ten bodies floating by the boat and with my glasses I could see many more. But the ocean is big and human bodies are small.

Thursday night the fire approaches the quay and that evening we see the Metropole Hotel and the theatre succumb to the unsatisfied flames. Friday morning the Star-Spangled Banner is no longer there. The streets are quiet again. All who can be rescued have been. The gem of Anatolia is only a memory. The rescue boats are already steaming toward Greece and Constantinople. On the Sardegna we formed in line for bread. I took my place with the others. I was not hungry, but this was my first time in a bread line and I wished the experience. What clamoring for tickets! Children are howling and crying everywhere. Their mothers and fathers sit with sad eyes and watch the city slowly crumble into ashes. Here sits a young girl looking dreamily across the sea, and when I question her she tells me that she is simply wondering where are the rest of the family and what will become of her. But the picture is not all shadow. Here are two brothers who were saved on the same boat. Their parents are on the Isle of Samos safe from the Turk for the time. True, they have lost their property and their business, but they are alive and have their youth and strength.

Friday and Saturday pass in much the same way. After thus wasting two days

the Italian Government decides that the steamer should proceed to Piraeus and then to Brindisi. I am the only American passenger and very much of a nuisance with my interminable questions and impersonal interest. I may have my choice of going back to Greece or of being transferred to a still smaller boat, the Barion, which has arrived the previous night and is going on to Rhodes, where I may be lucky enough to get another boat going to Syria. I had been to Greece about three

weeks before. I am anxious to escape Smyrna with its horrors. I choose the Barion. Saturday morning the transfer is made and shortly after the Sardagna steams away for Greece. In the evening we receive our orders, lift our anchor, and leave for Rhodes. Gradually behind me fades away the ill-fated city of Smyrna. Nine days before I found it a beautiful Greek city with happy homes and prosperous people. Today I leave it a Turkish city, dead and in ruins.

SMYRNA DURING THE GREEK OCCUPATION

By COLONEL RACHID GALIB,

In conjunction with the foregoing account by Dr. Oran Raber, the following article by Colonel Galib is of interest for the evidence it adduces to show that the Greeks were guilty of atrocities at Smyrna and in other parts of Asia Minor and also for the suggestion that the Greeks and Armenians were responsible for the burning of Smyrna. Colonel Galib was an officer on the General Staff of the Turkish Army of the West during the Balkan War of 1912, and is now a resident of Vienna.

WHO are the barbarians in the East—the Turks or the Greeks? To answer this question let us examine the behavior of the Greeks and the Greek Army during their invasion of Asia Minor and their subsequent retreat. The Greeks landed under the protection of the guns of allied warships at Smyrna three years ago. The town was entirely stripped of troops and offered no defense whatsoever. Yet no sooner did the invaders put foot ashore than they flung themselves like wild beasts upon the defenseless Turkish population, committing the foulest deeds. Wherever the Greeks came across Turkish inhabitants they shot them down in batches in the most savage manner. Homes were broken into and robbed; women and even girls of ten were violated.

So atrocious were the crimes committed by the Greeks, who had been entrusted with the mission of *civilizing* Asia Minor, that the Allies were forced to send a commission of inquiry to Smyrna to investigate on the spot the doings of their Hellenic protégés. The result of the investigation is known to the whole world. The commission, composed of Admirals and

Generals representing the United States, Great Britain, France and Italy, conducted a most painstaking inquiry, and presented a report based on unimpeachable evidence to show the full extent of the atrocities committed against the defenseless Turks. Yet, in spite of all that, the protectors of the Greeks decided that it would not be prudent to give publicity to the crimes of their spoiled child. The report was pigeon-holed and the culprits left unpunished, for what did it matter if some tens of thousands of Turks had been massacred?

Having taken possession of Smyrna, as if the regular army was not sufficient to continue the work of destruction, the Greeks organized armed bands of irregulars for the express purpose of spreading devastation in Anatolia. During the three years of their occupation these hordes massacred, burned and destroyed everything they could. Then came the day when the Turkish Army drove these Huns from Anatolia, but not before they did further damage. The regular Greek Army, during its retreat burned more than 280,000 houses, after having caused Turkey, according to the Commission of Inquiry, a loss of 1,

500,000,000 Turkish pounds. (The Turkish pound is normally worth \$4.40.)

As evidence of the devastation wrought by the Greeks, the following report printed in The London Times of Sept. 27 speaks for itself:

Strong criticism of the behavior of the Greek troops and of the [British] Government's policy in the Near East was expressed yesterday by Lord St. Davids, when presiding at the half-yearly meeting of the Ottoman Railway from Smyrna to Aidin, held at Winchester House [London].

Lord St. Davids said that from the very beginning the board thought, and said, that the attempt to hand over Smyrna to the Greeks was a perfectly absurd action, even from the point of view of the Greeks themselves. The Greeks in their retreat burned every Turkish village they saw, robbed individual Turks, and, when these resisted, killed them. They did all this nowhere near the front, without any military necessity, and out of sheer malice. The company's reports were that it was done systematically by regular troops under orders. It was done by men who knew they could not hold the country, and meant to make it worthless for any one else.

Referring to the destruction of the railway by the Greeks, Lord St. Davids said: "We are under distinct obligation to Mustapha Kemal for having sent up troops to rescue the staff. We think our Government has been a great deal too thoughtful about the susceptibilities of King Constantine, one of the worst enemies this country had during the war, the meanest and most treacherous of all our foes, and has not taken enough trouble, or used enough force, to make him and his Government pay what they owe us."

Here is the evidence of Arnold J. Toynbee, Professor of Byzantine and Modern Greek Literature and History in the University of London, as printed in The London Daily Mail of Sept. 21:

I was an eyewitness last year of Greek atrocities against the Turks. The district where they occurred was a fertile and formerly prosperous peninsula on the southern coast of the Sea of Marmora. Incidentally, it was a part of the neutral zone set up by the Treaty of Sèvres, but the Allies had not only allowed but invited a Greek Army to occupy it. The extermination was carried out partly by bands of local Greek irregulars with the countenance and collusion of the Greek military authorities, partly by the Greek regular troops themselves. I was coasting round in an Ottoman Red Crescent steamer which was evacuating the survivors.

The London Daily Mail of Sept. 12 reproduced a dispatch from The Chicago Tribune correspondent at Smyrna in which the following statement appeared:

The Greek Army has burned all the villages and towns on its march and converted Asia Minor

into a ruin. * * * The Greeks have massacred the defenseless Turks en masse everywhere.

M. Franklin-Bouillon, who was sent by the Allies on a mission to Mustapha Kemal at Smyrna, when interviewed by a number of foreign journalists on Sept. 3, made this statement:

I have seen terrible and frightful things at Magnissa, a town near Smyrna. This town, hitherto so prosperous, had before the Greek invasion 50,000 inhabitants and 11,000 houses, of which 10,000 have been burned by the Greeks. The Greek commander himself directed this horrible operation from the balcony of the building where he had his headquarters. As he gave his incendiary troops orders, he calmly smoked a cigarette. I ask the American journalists to use every effort to let the civilized Anglo-Saxon world know of these atrocities committed by the Greeks. We do not want Thrace also to become under Greek domination a ruined and ravaged desert. In Anatolia the Greeks have destroyed, devastated and exterminated everything and everybody.

During this interview one of the correspondents reminded M. Franklin-Bouillon of the massacres and atrocities committed by the Greeks when they landed at Smyrna, and he replied that all those crimes which had been hidden until now should also be made known.

Still another witness is to be found in the person of the British Consul General at Smyrna (Mr. H. Lamb), who reported to his Government that he had reason to believe that Greeks in concert with Armenians had burned Smyrna. This was confirmed by the correspondent of the *Petit Parisien* at Smyrna in a dispatch on Sept. 20.

The number of children, women, young men and old, among the Turkish noncombatant population, who fell under the knives of the Greeks, according to the different official inquiries, has reached a total of 213,136.

Papoulos, the Greek Commander-in-Chief, in a speech in the Aya Fotini Church at Smyrna last year, made the impudent declaration that if some day the Greeks had to abandon the territories they had occupied, the destruction they had wrought would make it impossible for the Turks to draw any profit from Asia Minor for the next 250 years. And the Greeks have done precisely what Papoulos promised. Such, then, is the achievement of the Greeks in *civilizing* Anatolia, yesterday so prosperous, today a blood-smeared ruin.

CHINA, ILL-GOVERNED AND BANKRUPT, YET PROSPEROUS

By GARDNER L. HARDING

The eclipse of Wu Pei-fu after his failure to prevent the fall of pro-American Cabinet Ministers—Tsao Kun's rise as China's new "strong man"—Sun Yat-sen's ascendancy in the South—Vast sums of money diverted from National Treasury by Provincial Military Governors

SINCE about a year ago political developments in China have been under the spell of a great hope. The civil war of last year cleared the air and seemed to promise a settlement. Especially it seemed to settle who was going to rule China, namely, Wu Pei-fu, for no man ever won a more shattering victory over a political or military rival than when he drove the arch-Tuchun Chang Tso-lin headlong off the North China battlefield and back to the Mukden line in Manchuria. Chang Tso-lin sat down to count his shattered army; his tardy ally, Sun Yat-sen, was ejected from Canton by a rival General in his own forces; and a fourth prospective dictator, Tsao Kun, who had been on the fence, withdrew into the grateful shade China spreads over those who want to save their face. Of the competing quartet of "strong men," Wu Pei-fu, everywhere known as a liberal, an anti-militarist and a scholar, was supreme.

Wu Pei-fu's policy was to break up the Tuchuns, the Military Governors of the provinces, who maintain 1,500,000 soldiers at China's expense and for their own profit, and who have resisted any attempt at the unification of China since 1916, when Yuan Shih-kai died of unification movement because it was coupled with a return to monarchy. Wu Pei-fu intended to bring about unification with a Constitution and a Parliament, with a supreme national army and a solvent nation. In such a hope, well and plausibly founded, even if a little dash of optimism went with it, China gave Wu Pei-fu his chance.

It is not the nation's fault if another

such hope in another "great man" has once more been blasted. One reason why the Chinese situation looks so complicated to the average foreigner is that it is too simple to be credible. The Tuchun system in China keeps a score of Generals rich, a horde of their accomplices in silk.



International
LI YUAN-HUNG
President of the Chinese Republic



Wide World

Infantry and machine-gun detachment of the modern Chinese Army

lined security, and a great mob of soldiers in receipt of food and a good living. China, with all her growing strength in the new republic, is being drained of her life-blood at their hands because she cannot get out of a certain vicious circle. This vicious circle consists in putting the nation's power and sympathy behind a new victorious leader who promises to destroy the Tuchuns, only to have him in turn become as obnoxious a Tuchun as all the rest.

Wu Pei-fu's cardinal point was the re-establishment of Parliament, and on Aug. 5, 1922, the first Chinese Parliament to secure a legitimate quorum since 1917 was convened at Peking. In answer to the national discontent on the question of the legitimacy of the President, Hsu Shih-chang slid gently out of office with Wu Pei-fu's first victory, while Li Yuan-hung, who had been forcibly induced to resign in 1917, re-entered the President's palace on June 11 as a legitimate Chief Executive. A thoroughly representative and acceptable Premier, Wang Chung-hwei, took office during the Summer with the general consent, though not with the strict Parliamentary approval, of all factions.

A candid observer must admit that so long as Wu Pei-fu dictated Cabinet appointments by the strength of his army, as he did, such constitutional forms were only superficial. But these beginnings, after the long years of usurpation and civil war, were signs of a real recuperation of the constructive spirit. China got something like an effective Cabinet, a "Cabinet of all the talents," in which Wellington Koo, a really able man, was Foreign Minister, while Lo Wen-kan took the most difficult portfolio of all, the Ministry of Finance. How this Cabinet was wrecked in November, how its leaders actually came to be impeached and driven from office by what seemed to be a Liberal Parliament, it is difficult for a Westerner to understand.

THE CABINET UPHEAVAL

Lo Wen-kan signed on Nov. 14 a revision of the terms of a pre-war German loan and transferred part of the money which he saved China in this transaction to the Ministry of Communications to be used for the redemption of railway bonds. A month later the Procurator's Court, before which Dr. Lo insisted on being tried, cleared him of any illegal act, but at the



Keystone

CHANG TSO-LIN

two tendencies in Chinese public life which the optimists had generally overlooked. One was that the Liberal Young China that had participated in the settlement accorded to China at the Washington conference was the victim of a smoldering but generally pervasive unpopularity, since it is dangerous for a politician to be too prominent outside his own country, especially when he cannot convince his countrymen that he has returned with substantial results. Both Wang Chung-hwei of Yale and Wellington Koo of Columbia had aroused a widespread sentiment that they had acquiesced too easily at Washington to an American inspired settlement. When the time came to count their friends an unusual number of their former Liberal admirers deserted them. This rather than the loan was one of the real reasons of their downfall.

The other reason was rather more ominous. The Cabinet of Wang Chung-hwei was a Wu Pei-fu Cabinet. Wu Pei-fu tried to save it, but he, too, had allowed him-



WU PEI-FU

time the pretext was sufficient for the enemies of the Cabinet, who were led by Wu Ching-lien, Speaker of the House, and a follower of Tsao Kun. Tsao Kun, it must be remembered, is still Wu Pei-fu's greatest rival, and Wu Pei-fu was responsible for the Cabinet being in office. Tsao Kun gave the signal on Nov. 18 by telegraphing to Peking that Lo Wen-kan was a traitor. The Tsao Kun faction induced the irresolute President, Li Yuan-hung, to order his arrest. Two days later the lower house impeached him. The Cabinet resigned in the general upheaval. On Nov. 28 the vindictive lower house succeeded in also impeaching Premier Wang Chung-hwei and Wellington Koo, two of the ablest leaders Young China has produced.

The upheaval brought sharply into view

self to be influenced by the pro-American trend. He had, for example, suffered himself to be inordinately praised by a number of well-intentioned American admirers. Tsao Kun had no such distracting alignments; he came from nowhere crying "Traitor! Traitor!" and his well-planned coup had won the day. It was a shrewd move of the older China, and it made the heroic Wu Pei-fu look more than a little foolish.

Another Cabinet had to be found. In the interregnum a stop-gap Premier, Wang Ta-hsieh, filled the office merely so that China might have an executive head to sign the Kiao-Chau leased territory and Shantung Railway agreement with Japan. C. T. Wang, who has carried the burden of the Shantung negotiations since the Washington Conference, acted as Foreign Minister, then as Premier, until finally, on Dec. 3, the new Cabinet was formed. The choice of a Premier constituted still another rebuke to Wu Pei-fu. Chang Shao-tseng, former Minister of War, a valiant Tsao Kun man who, though credited with no particular enmity toward Wu Pei-fu, was in no sense an exclusive or a personal supporter of the backer of the previous Cabinet. Chang Shao-tseng was promptly confirmed by both houses of Parliament, an honor which had been reserved for but two Premiers before him in China's checkered Parliamentary history.

General Chang's Cabinet is moderate rather than Liberal, its outstanding progressive choice being C. T. Wang as Minister of Justice, a choice which may not, in the present order of things, be permanent. But one more stroke of popular disapproval was reserved for the pro-American element. In recognition of his services at Washington Dr. Alfred Sze was nominated as Minister of Foreign Affairs. On Dec. 24 Parliament undertook the responsible task of confirming the Cabinet appointments. It was considered likely that Peng Yun-yi, the new Minister of Education, might be sacrificed to the popular rage which, as expressed by an angry crowd of Peking University students, lamented the departure under official disapproval of their famous Chancellor, Tsai Yuan-pei. But when the votes were counted the only one of all the new

Ministers who was not confirmed was Dr. Sze, who had praised the Washington Conference throughout China and who still held out for the good name of his fellow-delegates at that conference who had been impeached.

Thus disappeared the last chance for some time to come of an American-educated official as Foreign Minister of the Chinese Republic. The new Foreign Minister, appointed and confirmed a month later, is Wang Fu, educated in Japan, a man who attended the Washington Conference as an advisory member of the delegation and who, as he took good care to let it be known, resigned from participation in its decisions when it became known how far they were to fall short of China's claims.

THE ADVENT OF TSOA KUN

Such is the recent political history of China. Tsao Kun, who many years ago was Wu Pei-fu's brigade commander, is steadily replacing his ambitious pupil as China's next experiment in a man of destiny, and is freely spoken of as the inevitable next candidate for President. Certainly, if Parliament retains its present complexion, his election seems assured; and if it is assured no great disturbance of the Tuchun system will be initiated by China's Chief Executive.

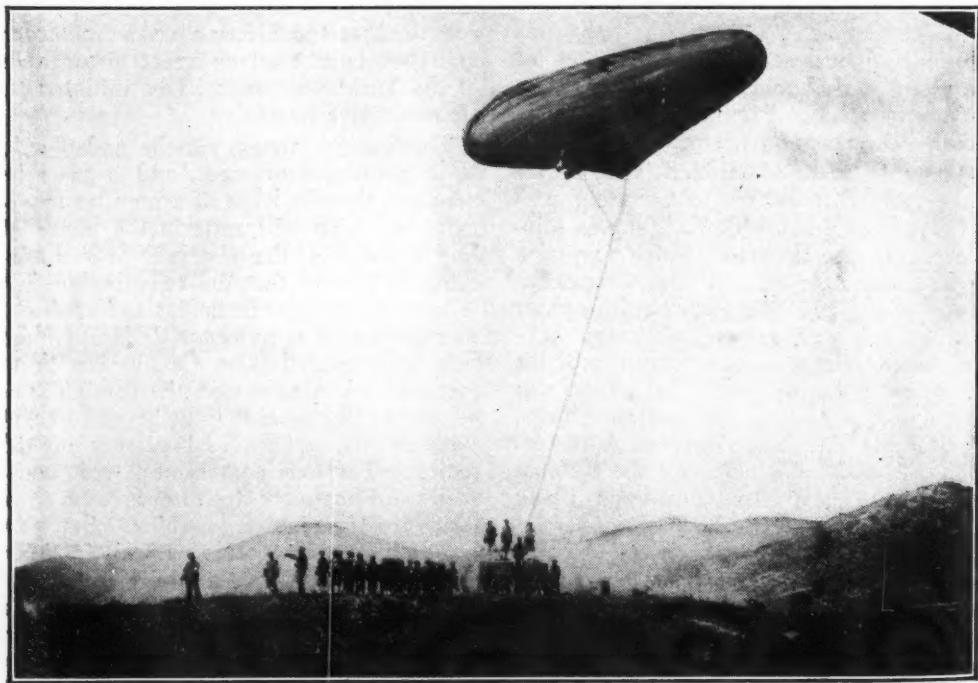
The Tuchun system can be ended only by a popular movement, and it must be admitted that the hope of a popular movement in China still rests in the hands of Sun Yat-sen. If the past year proved anything, it proved that the redoubtable Sun is just as powerful in defeat and apparent disgrace as he is in victory. Hardly had Sun been ejected from Canton last Summer and taken refuge in the foreign concession of Shanghai than he began to negotiate as one of the real powers of the nation. The President himself sent emissaries to Shanghai to discuss with him terms for the reunion of China. Sun parleyed on an even footing with all factions, eventually succeeding not only in forcing Wu Pei-fu to summon Parliament, but also by sending his hundred or more members of the "legitimate" Parliament of Canton to Peking, winning a powerful stake in the capital by absolutely controlling the

new Parliament's quorum. This man, whom a powerful political party still implicitly obeys in China, possesses a strength which most foreigners do not suspect. With his return in triumph to Canton on Feb. 21, Sun received another convincing justification of the apparently imperishable spell he has cast over his generation. When the students of the Queen's University at Hong Kong dragged Sun from his automobile and carried him in triumph to the platform of a great university meeting of welcome, even the British faculty had to admit that China's first President, though he might be a radical and a dreamer, was still the unrivaled conqueror of the minds of China's coming generation.

Sun Yat-sen has learned much during the year. He need not have told the Russian diplomat, Joffe, at Shanghai that China "was not ripe for Bolshevism"; he abandoned the idea long ago. During 1921 and a good part of 1922 Sun was engaged in the very practical task of making his native city of Canton a modern municipality. It is now, outwardly as

well as inwardly, the best governed city anywhere in China, the cleanest, the best paved, the best drained, the best protected against fire and plague, the most democratically and what is still more to its credit the most honestly administered. Kwangtung province, like all the rest of China, has its bandits; South China like the North is responsible for the common policy of insolvency and extravagance; but this one decently governed, progressive city is a demonstration of success that has made Chinese everywhere take heart that they can govern themselves according to modern standards once they get the chance.

With Sun Yat-sen's record of reasonable good temper toward Japan, even through the times when Japanese policy gave every other Chinese leader acute astigmatism, he is equipped to help materially in the coming experiment—which the Washington Conference made possible in spite of its detractors—of Japanese-Chinese co-operation. Wu Pei-fu, with Western alignments not of his choosing, has been Sun's adversary during most of the past year;



Wide World

A Chinese Army balloon section engaged in observation work

with Wu's influence being gradually overshadowed, Sun Yat-sen, with his home-grown sympathies and idealism, is adding to a reputation which has already proved its survival value.

What Sun Yat-sen's ideas of foreign policy are has just been indicated in a declaration of what he proposes to do as head of the Government of South China. According to an Associated Press dispatch, dated Canton, April 1, Sun outlined his policy as follows:

1. He will remove to his own headquarters tomorrow (April 2) at Canton.
 2. He will begin immediately to modernize Canton Province, with the assistance of foreign experts in departments requiring foreign methods.
 3. He plans to adopt the systems practiced in British territory, around Hong-Kong, by employing British experts to assist in the reorganization of the land taxation department, audit department and pension system.
 4. He will keep mines and public utilities under Government control, to be worked by private capital under royalties on a profit-sharing basis.
 5. All nationalities will be welcomed in the financing of Government enterprises, but American and British capital will be preferred.
 6. Railways will be constructed by foreign capital.
 7. He has no intention of maintaining a separate Government for Southern China, but is working for the reunification of China.
 8. He says immediate financial assistance is needed.
 9. He will clear the market of all old provincial bank notes, taking expert advice on any new bank note issues.
 10. Profits from mines and utilities will be used to relieve taxation.
 11. He will take immediate measures for the suppression of piracy and brigandage by organizing a gendarmerie, augmented by aviation corps.
 12. He expects Hiu Sung-chi's army soon to return and round up Chen Chiung-ming's forces in Waichow.
 13. The Yunnan troops are loyal and are considered on the same basis as the Canton troops.
 14. The Kwangsi troops will leave the city and arsenal and go to the West and the North Rivers.
- This means a settlement of the more difficult aspect of the military situation, and it enables Dr. Sun to have better control of the general situation in Canton, which is now orderly, with municipal work-making rapid progress, according to Dr. Sun.

WHY CHINA IS BANKRUPT

There is one development during the past twelve months no foreign observer of

China can afford to pass over. Month by month the nation has sunk still further into bankruptcy. Just before he was impeached Lo Wen-kan made one of the most intelligible statements on China's finances that have ever been openly admitted. The budgets of the Peking Government had been falsified for so many years by elaborate padding and infinite, unadded columns of figures that China's friends were appalled by their inscrutable wizardry. Lo Wen-kan, by simple rules of addition and subtraction, reduced everything to terrible order. He showed that the Peking Government was spending, according to the latest budget figures, something like \$4,500,000 a month gold, while the receipts of the same Government, averaged over a period from January to September, 1922, amounted to some \$115,000 monthly.

People rubbed their eyes before such figures, and Lo Wen-kan's impeachment was the necessary sequel of a disclosure which had violated every decency of the Tuchun system. Yet, always remembering that the customs, salt and other taxes largely allocated to pay foreign debts are not given due credit in this income, these figures approximately represent the truth. Of this enormous total nearly \$3,000,000 goes every month to pay the army and navy, and to the total of the ever-hungry army must be added an enormous sum diverted from national taxation by the provincial Tuchuns. How large this sum is may be imagined from the fact that Lo Wen-kan collected \$650,000 during the year from the wine and tobacco tax when the total proceeds of the tax are known to be well over \$6,500,000. In other words, the provincial Tuchuns are keeping back something like nine-tenths of China's national taxation. Loans and still more loans are the only methods utilized or possible under the present system to keep the Peking Government afloat.

Lo Wen-kan disclosed the still more pertinent fact that China's national debt, which has now reached the total of \$950,000,000 gold, includes some \$250,000,000 worth of obligations, domestic and foreign, totally unsecured, as well as almost \$100,000,000 of unpaid civil and military expenses. Unsecured railway obligations

swell this total still more. With the end of borrowing in sight, come accommodation with the International Banking Consortium, which refuses to alleviate this situation unless it is given partial control over the accounting and spending of the money, is an ultimate solution which Chinese statesmen will have to be courageous enough to adopt.

The events of the past year have shown that China is still, with proper safeguards, one of the best risks in the world. In all this welter of bankruptcy and disorganization trade marches steadily onward. The customs taxes for 1922 revealed the highest total on record, exceeding last year's figures by some 4,500,000 taels and mounting to almost 60,000,000 taels, at an approximate gold quotation of 75 cents per tael. The new customs taxes granted by the Washington Conference and the subsequent provision by the expert commissions, some of which is still to be granted, may under favorable conditions double China's present customs total, all of which is under foreign collection and not susceptible to Tuchun robbery. Millions more trade is being done; the Chinese cotton manufacturing industry is going ahead by leaps and bounds; and an efficient group of Chinese-owned modern banks has sprung up within the past few years.

It is a truism in China to say that everything is well except the Government. That much-tried truth has never been so valid as now. Economically, China is in better shape than any European country. She has more bullion; she has more proceeds from a healthy trade growth and a general state of solvency, almost of prosperity, between one economic centre and another. She is an astounding anomaly among modern nations, so much so that it is perfectly conceivable that with her new taxation, and with a major percentage of her own revenues protected on the road to the central Government, with a new popular movement directed to the reduction of the army, China would be rapidly on the road to becoming a solvent nation. She may



Underwood
SUN YAT-SEN

have to develop the spirit of reform under the duress of a threatened international intervention, a healthy shock to China's loose-hung organism that the immediate future may hold.

A "great man," to say nothing of a great Tuchun, cannot accomplish this change; it must come with the resolution of a strong democratic national effort along the lines of China's age-old methods of bettering herself. Whether it will come soon or late depends on factors no one can foresee or dare to predict, but for the future peace of the world it can only be fervently hoped that the maximum of national independence will be left to China to work out her own destiny.

JAPAN'S CIVILIZING MISSION IN MANCHURIA

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Modification of Japanese policy despite instability of the Chinese Government—Remarkable progress of Manchuria under Japanese rule—More up-to-date cities than in Japan itself—The Russian menace an additional reason for not withdrawing

IN the Summer of 1920 a coterie of Japanese liberals, who had a better understanding with China sincerely at heart, met a body of Chinese similarly interested in the relations of the two countries. Among the Chinese were Mr. Yen, a nephew of Dr. W. W. Yen, then Foreign Minister and later Prime Minister of the Government at Peking, and Mr. Wang, then Secretary of the Chinese Legation at Tokio and later Consul General at Chita, the capital of the now defunct Far Eastern Republic. The Japanese had no official status, but were in a position to influence the Government. The conference was held in Tokio. To avoid premature publicity, the conferees met quietly. Their main object was to formulate a plan which might serve to dispose of the Manchurian problem in a way acceptable to China and Japan.

The Chinese conferees, patriotic as they were, had to recognize the inevitable and to admit that no program, including the outright cancellation of the treaties of 1915, could be adopted except on paper. The Japanese, despite their liberal standpoint, had to consider the temper of their Government and public, which would never listen to such a proposal as the immediate evacuation of Manchuria. Mutual conciliation and compromise seemed the only practicable course which the conference could follow. The agreement arrived at by the conferees was carefully guarded and has never been made public. It is,

however, understood that it included the shortening of the lease of Port Arthur and Dairen, as well as of the term of the Japanese operation of the South Manchuria Railway, including the Antung-Mukden line. It also included a number of minor concessions on the part of Japan. Entirely unofficial, the meeting had no authority to adopt any formal agreement. Its function was to "talk it over" in a frank but friendly spirit and see whether a plan could not be evolved which might be favorably considered by the Governments concerned.

Having arrived at an understanding with the Japanese conferees, Mr. Yen and Mr. Wang left Tokio for Peking with the intention of laying the plan before their Government. But as soon as they set foot upon Chinese soil they were greeted with threats on the part of unscrupulous or misguided men, evidently instigated by politicians of the opposition faction. So disconcerted were they that they dared not urge the Tokio agreement upon their Government. Nor was the Peking Cabinet, under the circumstance, disposed to consider it.

The lack of a stable Government, capable of carrying out what it considers best for the country, is China's chief difficulty.

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The South Manchurian Railway station and hotel at Mukden—a sign of progress in this part of the Far East

There political contest is not a matter of free speech, but follows the course of medievalism attended with factional feuds, violence, intrigue and assassinations. Had China had a régime under which reason, and not intimidation, determined the course of governmental action, the problem of Manchuria might have been adjusted before the opening of the Washington Conference, where the question was virtually excluded from the agenda. China's recent note to Japan, expressing her desire to abrogate the Manchurian treaty of 1915, will, of course, serve no practical purpose. Japan, considering herself one of the great powers of the world, will not meekly submit to such a peremptory demand from a nation rent by internal discord and having no Government worthy of the name. Apart from the question of right or wrong, that is the situation which any practicable proposition affecting Manchuria must take into consideration.

It is a significant fact that the Chinese note and the Japanese reply have evoked but slight attention on the part of the American press and public. Only a year ago any Chinese contention regarding Japanese holdings in China found an immediate and warm response on this side of the Pacific. No one remembering the intensity of feeling with which Shantung was discussed in the Senate, on the platform and in the press can fail to marvel at the remarkable coolness with which the

present Chinese attempt to revive the Manchurian controversy has been received. For this changed sentiment two things are responsible.

JAPAN'S CHANGED POLICY

In the first place, Japan has greatly modified her former policy toward China. The celebrated twenty-one demands and the resultant treaties have been for the most part converted, at the instance of Japan herself, into scraps of paper. Last Summer she withdrew her troops from Hankow and Shantung, and reduced to a considerable extent her army in the railway zone in Manchuria. She has evacuated Siberia and introduced a liberal policy in Korea. She has handed over Shantung to China in complete conformity with the agreements made at the Washington Conference. As to the status of Manchuria, Baron Shidehara declared at that conference that the Japanese delegation "cannot bring itself to the conclusion that any useful purpose can be served by research and re-examination at this conference of old grievances which one of the nations represented here may have against another." Nevertheless, Japan was, he announced, ready to make the following concessions in the interest of international amity:

1. To open to the common activity of the International Financial Consortium, organized at the instance of the American

State Department, the right of option obtained by Japanese capitalists with regard to certain Manchurian Railway loans, as well as loans to be secured on local taxes in South Manchuria.

2. To abandon the preferential right obtained by Japan in 1915 concerning the engagement by China of Japanese advisers in South Manchuria.

3. To give up definitely and unreservedly Group V of the so-called twenty-one demands.

Japan has since fulfilled every promise she made at the Washington conference, not only with regard to China but also with regard to the reduction of armament. In addition to the naval retrenchment agreed upon at Washington, Japan has reduced her army by some 60,000 officers and men. All these laudable achievements have not failed to be appreciated by the powers.

The second important factor in the change of public sentiment on the Far Eastern situation is the continued, perhaps increasingly, deplorable condition of

China. In a sense the Washington conference was a great help to China. There is not the slightest doubt that the statesmen who conceived that memorable international gathering had a great solicitude for the welfare and happiness of China. In another sense, however, that conference has proved an occasion for the revelation of China's regrettable internal condition. Thanks to it, the American public was given, as never before, an opportunity to study and ponder over the problems of China. Americans have thus come to realize that many of the woes of which China has been complaining before the world are of her own creation, and that her real menace lies within rather than without. They have come to know that the China painted in roseate colors by her spokesmen abroad is very different from the China which is wallowing in the mire of political intrigue and factional feuds of the worst description.

Since the Washington Conference, conditions in China have been going from bad to worse. So bad indeed have they been



Chinese patients receiving treatment at the Japanese dispensary at Mukden, Manchuria

that Secretary Hughes and Dr. Schurman, the American Minister at Peking, have in recent public utterances been constrained to voice a warning to China. At the Washington Conference the Chinese delegation emphatically declared that in the event of Japanese withdrawal from Shantung there would be absolutely no danger to life and property in that province. This

nomic chaos which has gripped China since the present so-called republic was brought into existence.

CHINA AND THE WEST

All these circumstances have conspired to alienate Western sympathy from China. But for them the recent Manchurian note



Head office of the South Manchuria Railway Company at Dairen. The company is credited very largely with the progress of Manchuria since the Japanese occupied the territory

promise has not been kept. As soon as the Japanese troops withdrew from the railway zone last Summer the activities of the bandits became so rampant that many Chinese merchants had to flee from the territory. The foreigners are bitterly complaining of the deterioration of the railway service. When the last contingent of the Japanese garrison left Tsing-tao in December, these bandits became so bold in their operations that the Chinese Government, to save its face before the world, quietly paid them \$100,000, virtually imploring them to stop their activities. This is merely one of numerous symptoms of the political, military, financial and eco-

of Peking would have received a more considerate treatment in the forum of public opinion. Nevertheless, the apathy of the Western world to the Chinese proposal for the abrogation of the Manchurian treaty does not mean that the problem has been disposed of once and for all. On the contrary, the problem is still there. The time will come when China, having succeeded in putting her house in order, will, not for reasons of domestic politics, but in an earnest endeavor to regain her sovereign status as a nation, make more determined efforts to restore her rights in Manchuria. For the Western public, therefore, it is essential to keep clearly

in view what Japan holds and what rights she enjoys in Manchuria.

The Japanese lease of the Kuantung peninsula would have expired in March of the present year, had not the old treaty, under which Japan acquired the leasehold, been replaced by the treaty of 1915, extending the lease for ninety-nine years from the date on which it was originally established, that is, from 1898 to 1997. The leased territory, including Port Arthur and Dairen, measures 1,200 square miles out of a total area of 382,630 square miles. This territory is important mainly as the base of railway operation. Dairen, the commercial metropolis not only of this territory but of entire Manchuria, is virtually the starting point of the South Manchuria railway system. With Dairen under Chinese control, this Japanese railway could never have become what it is, an efficient and successful means of transportation.

Under the Russian régime, the leased territory was purely a military zone, covered with fortifications and bristling with arms. Port Arthur, a military and naval port, was entirely closed to merchant ships. Even the port of Dairen was half devoted to the exclusive use of the Russian navy. This condition was completely reversed soon after the territory was transferred to Japan in 1905. Port Arthur has been converted into a sort of recreation ground, as well as a commercial port. Japan has not spent a single cent on its fortifications, mostly destroyed during the Russian war. As for Dairen, it has become a commercial port pure and simple, the phenomenal progress of which furnishes a measure of the rapid economic development of Manchuria under Japanese enterprise. In 1908, Dairen, in respect of trade, occupied the fifth place among the commercial ports of China, being preceded by Shanghai, Hankow, Canton and Tientsin in the order named. Today it ranks second after Shanghai.

Three countries are represented in the railway enterprise of Manchuria, namely, Russia, Japan and China. Russia owns some 1,060 miles of railway. Whatever may be the present political condition of Russia, the time will sooner or later come when she will reassert her right over this

line. As a matter of fact, Bolshevik diplomats have already been in Peking endeavoring to regain it. The Chinese line in Manchuria measures some 300 miles, and it is under British supervision, as it is financed by British capitalists. The Japanese lines, the South Manchuria system, totals about 698 miles. The lease of the trunk line of the system, or rather the period during which it was to be operated, was to expire under the old treaty in 1939, that is, after thirty-six years from the opening of the line to general traffic. The branch line between Antung and Mukden, 189 miles in length, was, under the original agreement, to revert to Chinese ownership this year, that is, the fifteenth year after its completion in 1908. The treaty of 1915 extended this term to ninety-nine years, namely, from 1908 to 2007.

The South Manchuria Railway is the one outstanding economic and civilizing factor in Manchuria. Neither the Russian nor the Chinese line can rival this railway in efficiency. The company, organized in 1906 in accordance with the commercial laws of Japan, has an authorized capital of \$100,000,000, the shares having been equally divided between the general public and the Japanese Government. The Chinese Government was invited to take some of the shares allotted to the Japanese Government, but the invitation was declined on the ground that China had no substantial fund available for the purpose. Besides operating 698 miles of railways, the South Manchuria Railway Company undertakes mining, operates iron works and maintains a steamship service connecting Dairen with the important ports of China and Japan. It owns extensive tracts of land along its lines and undertakes public works, sanitation and education in these tracts. The company employs in its traffic department 7,800 Japanese and 3,000 Chinese in various official capacities and 19,400 Chinese coolies for unskilled labor.

MODEL CITIES BUILT BY JAPAN

On the railway lands owned by the South Manchuria system, which aggregate some 45,156 acres, or about 70.54 square miles, the company has built modern

cities, providing them with up-to-date schools, hospitals, hotels, water works, sewerage, electric lighting, telephone systems and well-paved roads. These new cities are more sanitary and better planned than perhaps any city in Japan proper. They are open for residence and business purposes to both the Japanese and the Chinese, as well as foreigners. At Mukden the company maintains a splendid medical college, training Japanese and Chinese students, and a dispensary where tens of thousands of Chinese are treated every year without charge.

Especially impressive is the city of Dairen, with its beautiful shade trees, its imposing modern buildings, its electric tramways, its hospitals, and its splendid educational system, including a technical college and a normal school. Equally noteworthy is the Central Laboratory of Dairen. It was established in 1908 by Baron (now Viscount) Goto, then Director of the South Manchuria Railway, and is maintained at an annual expenditure of \$30,000. This institution, unique in Manchuria, perhaps in the whole of China, has been directed by one of the ablest scientists of Japan. Here ores from various parts of Manchuria are tested, and here experiments are made to produce useful articles from raw materials which nature has bestowed upon the country. Researches and experiments made by the laboratory have resulted in the creation of various new industries for the benefit of the natives. The institution welcomes foreigners and encourages them to utilize it, charging a nominal fee to cover the actual cost of chemicals and other materials consumed.

Thus the Japanese railway concessions, though only specks in the vast area of Manchuria, have become centres of civilization from which modern influences radiate into a country as yet unable to unshackle itself from medievalism. These railway lands were originally bequeathed to Japan by Russia. What Russia still owns along her railway in Central and North Manchuria is much larger in area than what Japan has inherited from her, for the Russian railway lands today total 328,720 acres, or about 513.63 square miles. The Russian concession at Harbin

alone measures 50.62 square miles. This vast stretch of land, for which Russia paid only 400,000 rubles a score of years ago, is today worth two or three times more.

Outside the leased territory and the railway concessions the Japanese enjoy no special rights or privileges in Manchuria. True, the Treaty of 1915, resulting from the twenty-one demands, permits the Japanese to travel and reside, as well as to lease land for farming and commercial purposes. But this privilege is by no means confined to the Japanese. By reason of the "most favored nation" clause included in China's treaties with American and European countries, the privilege is shared by all Westerners. Under the Russian régime the Manchurian railways were essentially military roads and were almost exclusively devoted to military purposes. The advent of the Japanese completely changed that condition, making the railways under Japanese control purely commercial. This is chiefly responsible for the great commercial strides which Manchuria has made in the last fifteen years. In 1908, the import and export trade of the country amounted to only 95,800,000 taels, or about \$71,850,000. In 1919 this increased to 377,000,000 taels, or \$282,750,000. In other words, the trade of Manchuria increased almost fourfold in eleven years.

In this rapid growth of trade America is fully represented. Under Russian influence, American commerce in Manchuria was small. The Japanese reversed this condition in favor of American interests. In the twelve years from 1907 to 1919, the South Manchuria Railway alone bought American materials to the extent of \$93,000,000 gold. In addition, American machinery and materials to the value of \$60,000,000 gold were imported to Manchuria in the same period by other Japanese firms. In 1920 the railway company alone expended \$20,000,000 for American materials. Last year the company adopted a program involving an expenditure of \$200,000,000 in five years. At least half of this sum will be devoted to the purchase of American materials.

Much has been said in Europe and America about Japanese colonization in

Manchuria. Yet the Japanese population there hardly exceeds 100,000, as against a native population of 20,000,000. Although the Japanese have benefited from the development of Manchuria, a greater benefit has undoubtedly been conferred upon the natives. Take, for instance, the enormous bean industry created by the Japanese.

Twenty-five years ago the export of Manchurian beans and their by-products, bean cake and bean oil, was practically nil. Due to Japanese enterprise, this export from South Manchuria had by 1920 grown to \$71,000,000 gold in value. Who but the Manchurian farmers receive the greatest benefit from the great demand and the consequent high price of beans made possible by Japanese enterprise?

The fundamental problem faced by Japan in South Manchuria is the problem faced by other powers in their respective dependencies or protectorates. Viewed from the standpoint of the welfare and happiness of the natives, as well as of the progress of the world's civilization, the Japanese régime in Manchuria should be welcomed. On the other hand, if we admit that each nation has the right of national and racial integrity, Japan's continued stay in Manchuria, like the domination of other countries by other powers, is open to criticism and is objectionable particularly to China.

Mr. Robert P. Porter, a British author, takes the first view when he quotes in his "Japan, the New World Power," an English merchant in Manchuria as follows: "With regard to that part of Manchuria which comes under Japanese influence, too great praise cannot be given. The conveniences and facilities afforded by the Japanese to one and all in regard to banking institutions, railway communications, postal and telegraph service are far and away superior to those afforded by the Russian and the Chinese institutions. The Yokohama Specie Bank, with its numerous branches, enables foreign traders to transact business on the same lines as they are accustomed to in other civilized countries. Transactions with this bank are free from the exorbitant rates and the petty red-tapism to which it is necessary to conform in working with either the Russian or the

Chinese. * * * Japan has fulfilled all her obligations, and continues to do so, in the development of Manchuria, and woe betide the day when the country comes under Russian influence or when it is handed back again to the control of the Chinese."

There is another thing which should be said in sympathy with, if not in justification of, Japan's position in Manchuria. No one can ignore the fact that the Manchurian soil Japan now holds and the vast country around it were anointed with Japanese blood in the titanic war forced upon her by Russia. It is now a matter of common knowledge that the astute Li Hung-chang secretly invited Russia to Manchuria in the closing years of the last century for the purpose of humbling Japan. But in satisfying his grudge against Japan Li cut off his nose to spite his face, for the Russians all but swallowed the whole of Manchuria. Had not Japan defeated Russia's sinister designs, China might have ceased to exist as an independent nation.

Japanese policy in Manchuria has ever since been formulated with a view to the possible renewal of a Russian onslaught in South Manchuria. When the Manchurian treaty of 1915 was signed between Tokio and Peking, Japan was still in fear of Russian revenge, for the military power of the Czar was then as formidable as ever. Today the fate of Russia is uncertain. Because it is uncertain, Russia remains a source of grave apprehension to the Japanese. With men like Lenin and Trotzky blatantly boasting of the "bright prospects for world revolution," Japan sees across the straits of Korea a new danger somewhat different from, but just as menacing as, the old one created by the military satellites of the Czar. Had China been an efficient and strong nation, capable of protecting her vast borders against Russian intrigue, whether military or revolutionary, the situation would have been different. With China yet in a state of chaos, Japan feels that she is not yet in a position to withdraw from Manchuria. That, in short, is the Japanese view, as firm as it is widespread. Whether that view is right or reasonable is, of course, a different matter.

EVENTS OF A MONTH THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 14, 1923]

AFGHANISTAN

AT the festivities attending the anniversary of the accession to the throne of the Amir, held at Jealabad, large numbers of Afridis, Mohmands and other frontier tribesmen had an opportunity of meeting the Afghan ruler. They were understood to have been much impressed by his friendly manner and his advice to maintain peace with their neighbors. From other sources it was learned the Amir would not permit Bolshevism to gain a foothold in his country, and had dismissed several Soviet agitators. The Amir and Court returned to Kabul in time for the usual Nauroz (New Year) celebrations, following which it was his intention to revisit the Eastern frontier.

ALBANIA

An Albanian Mussulmans Congress at Tirana has decided to break with the Caliphate, suppress polygamy and abolish the requirement of women wearing veils in public, according to dispatches from Belgrade of April 4. It was also agreed by the Congress that prayers might be said while standing.

Efforts are being made by companies of various nationalities to obtain oil concessions in Albania from the Parliament sitting at Tirana. The Anglo-Persian Company obtained a concession in April, 1921, by which 49 per cent. of the oil was to go to Albania, and 51 per cent. to the company, but it has not been ratified. The Standard Oil Company and the Sinclair Company both have representatives at Tirana looking out for their interests.

ARGENTINA

Hugo Stinnes, the leading industrialist and business man of Germany, has purchased large tracts of land in the northern provinces for cotton-growing purposes. After acquiring the New Valencia colony, he obtained several sections in the Province of Corrientes. The land lies along the Parana River and has direct railway communication with the Atlantic. It is announced that German industrial enterprises for the manufacturing of cotton products will follow the planting of the land.

It is reported that the last season has been

a remarkable development in the cotton-growing industry in the northern territories, the planters having succeeded in overcoming such handicaps as the scarcity of experienced manual labor, lack of implements and high cost of transportation from and to the coast.

AUSTRALIA

A political event of wide national interest occurred when the Premier of Queensland, Edward G. Theodore, applied to the Governor for a dissolution of Parliament, which was granted. The general election, which was fixed for May 12, will decide whether the State Labor Government, which has been in office eight years, still has the support of the people. No labor Government has so far enjoyed so long and uninterrupted a period of control as that in Queensland, first, under the Premiership of the late Thomas J. Ryan, and then under the leadership of his successor, the present Premier.

A labor dispute of long standing was settled on March 23, when the special Federal Tribunal, sitting at Sydney, rejected the demand of the coal owners of New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland and Tasmania for a reduction of the men's wages by one-third. The last award fixed the rate at 16 shillings and 6 pence (\$4) a day.

Prime Minister Bruce announced on April 10 that the Commonwealth Government would not appoint a Minister in Washington, considering it preferable to be represented diplomatically by Great Britain, but that a resident Trade Commissioner would shortly be sent to New York.

AUSTRIA

Slowly Austria is emerging from financial disaster through the measures planned by the League of Nations' Commissioner, the Dutch banker, Dr. Alfred Zimmerman of Rotterdam. In his report to the League Dr. Zimmerman said that the administration of the railways was disastrous, the railway deficit being by far the heaviest charge on the budget, amounting to about 40 per cent. of the total deficit. The personnel was said to be too large, numbering 99,000, or 35 to every mile of railway track. Abolition of free passes and tickets at reduced rates was recommended.

Dr. Zimmerman laid down three conditions for salvaging Austria: 1. Procuring credit; 2. Improving the internal political situation, and 3. Improvement of the economic situation. The Government is making headway toward these objects. By March 10 more than 30,400 Federal officials and employes had been dismissed, and there were signs that the economic crisis had passed its climax. The number of unemployed in some trades had begun to decrease. A Vienna engineering firm received an order in March for 200 locomotives to be delivered during the next three years for the Italian State railways.

The preliminary Austrian gold loan for £3,500,000 was oversubscribed in London, and Holland's share of 6,000,000 florins was fully subscribed. In Sweden the Riksbank agreed to take half of the Swedish allotment, the remainder being distributed among private banks, without public subscription.

Strict economy is the rule in Austria even in the highest departments. The budget for 1923 fixes the President's salary at 48,000 gold crowns, or \$9,800, a year to cover his personal expenses, maintain his chancellery and give official entertainments. The yearly official expenditure is limited to 1,725 gold crown, or \$345.

The allied Governments on April 6 asked Austria to dissolve and disarm the anti-Semitic Swastika organization and expel foreign agitators on account of a serious conflict on April 3 in a Vienna suburb in which several workmen were injured.

BOLIVIA

The Bolivian Government has insisted in a second note to the Government of Chile on the revision of the treaty of 1904, by which definite possession of the Province of Antofagasta was given to Chile, with free transit through Chilean ports and the construction of a railroad from Arica to La Paz as a compensation for Bolivia. *El Mercurio* of Santiago, commenting on the possibilities of the situation, is of the belief that the Bolivian demand will be again refused by Chile, and adds: "In diplomatic circles there is no delusion as to the outcome of the differences. Once the refusal of Chile to negotiate upon the basis of a revision of the treaty is known, the Bolivian minister in Santiago, Señor Jaimes Freire, will be recalled and the situation will revert to the times previous to the appointment of Dr. Macario Pinilla, who came to Santiago looking for further concessions from Chile, and failed."

BRAZIL

Brazilian rebels in the State of Rio Grande do Sul have spread considerable alarm among the frontier towns over the Uruguayan boundary,

having taken possession of Quarahy and menaced the larger city of Santa Ana do Livramento. From Buenos Aires comes news of the fall of Allegrete to the revolutionaries. The town was fortified, and the Government forces, although in possession of several machine guns, retreated without a fight. Several of their regiments are said to have gone over to the revolutionaries. Banditry has assumed large proportions in the southern part of the State, and the marauders are reported to be attacking homes and ranches with impunity. The number of refugees crossing the frontier into Uruguay is increasing as the situation of the State Government becomes more critical.

The Brazilian Embassy in Washington has made public the desire of its Government to co-operate with the American rubber manufacturers for the development of the rubber-producing industry in this country.

BULGARIA

Premier Stambulisky again rearranged his Cabinet in March, taking the portfolio of Commerce ad interim himself. The new alignment was as follows:

STOYANOFF—Interior.
MOURAVIEFF—War.
OBOFF—Agriculture.
KIRIL PAVLOFF—Public Works.
DUPARINOFF—Justice.
YANEFF—Finance.
ATHANASSOFF—Railways.

The Bulgarian Chamber was dissolved on March 11 and general elections were fixed for April 22.

Just before adjournment the Sobranje passed a law providing for the trial of the Ministers of the Gueshoff, Daneff and Malinoff Cabinets, twenty-two persons in all. The first two Cabinets are accused of having made disadvantageous treaties in connection with the first Balkan War; of having declared war on Turkey in 1912 without consulting the Sobranje, and of having waged war on the allies of Bulgaria. The Malinoff Cabinet is accused of failing to make a separate peace with the Entente in the World War, and of having shot without trial a number of soldiers who mutinied and threatened Sofia in September, 1918.

The Bulgarian Supreme Court, it was announced on April 1, had sentenced to life imprisonment six members of the Radoslavoff Cabinet, which held office at the time of Bulgaria's entry into the great war. They are Premier Radoslavoff himself, who escaped into Germany; Dimitri Toncheff, Minister of Finance; Pierre Peshev, Minister of Public Instruction; Dr. P. Dintcheff, Agriculture; Ivan Popoff, Justice, and Dobry Petkoff, Public Works. General Naidenof,

former Minister of War, was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment, and five others to terms of imprisonment ranging from five to ten years. General N. Jekof, Commander in Chief of the army, who escaped to Germany but returned to stand trial, was sentenced to ten years; K. Apostolof, former Minister of Railways, received the same sentence.

At a meeting of the allied Reparation Commission with Premier Stambulisky and Finance Minister Yaneff, on March 14, an agreement was reached on Bulgaria's reparations, reducing the amount from the 2,250,000,000 gold francs fixed by the Treaty of Neuilly to 550,000,000 gold francs settlement to be begun by the payment of 5,000,000 this year, followed by annual payments of 1,000,000 for ten years, and larger sums later. In accordance with this arrangement, all customs revenues are placed at the disposal of the inter-allied Reparation Board, and the payments will be extended over sixty years.

The percentage of distribution of the 550,000,000 francs is agreed upon, 52 per cent. going to France, 22 to Britain, 10 to Italy, 8 to Belgium, 5 to Serbia and three-fourths of 1 per cent. each to Japan and Portugal. This leaves 11.2 per cent. reserved for the countries not represented at the Spa conference of 1920. It was understood that the first payment of 2,500,000 francs would be made in July.

CANADA

In the House of Commons on March 9 Mr. Robb, Minister of Commerce, admitted that Canada had declined to receive a Russian Trade Mission which it was proposed should come to Canada, on the ground that the composition of the mission was not satisfactory to the Canadian Government. But, the Minister added, the Government would be glad to welcome any such mission with a clean record in the British Isles.

A resolution was adopted in the House of Commons on March 19 declaring for a national policy so that no part of the Dominion should be dependent on the United States for fuel.

Announcement was made in Ottawa on March 23 that Canada was negotiating with Japan for a modification of the immigration treaty, under which not more than 400 Japanese laborers are permitted to enter the Dominion yearly. Prime Minister King added that only in one year out of ten had this number been exceeded. A further statement by the Minister of Immigration contained the announcement that the Government proposed to abolish the head tax on Chinese, and limit entries to diplomatic officials, students and merchants.

Renewed incendiary attempts were made on Roman Catholic institutions during the week of April 7, when St. Edward's Academy, Montreal,

and other schools narrowly escaped destruction. Special guards were placed over the buildings.

CENTRAL AMERICA

Chief Justice Taft has accepted the requests of Costa Rica and Great Britain to act as arbiter in the dispute over the Amory oil concession granted to a British company by the un-recognized Tinoco Government. The request was conveyed to him by a note of March 7 after exchange of ratifications agreeing to arbitration in Washington. Ninety days are allowed for argument, sixty for rejoinder and ninety days more to give the decision.

The Costa Rican Congress on March 22 authorized an internal \$3,000,000 loan to cancel the country's external debt.

Guatemala and France on March 9 concluded a treaty of commerce to be submitted to the National Assembly for ratification.

A contract for completing the Guatemala link of the Pan-American railroad system has been entered into between the Government of Guatemala and Minor C. Keith of New York. The road will run from Zacapa to the Salvador boundary, 65 miles, and will be built under a concession for 86 years and a subsidy grant of \$1,500,000.

Honduras has settled her debt in Great Britain on very advantageous terms. Instead of the original debt of £5,500,000 she promises to pay £1,200,000, spread over thirty years.

Nicaragua on March 22 adopted the treaties and conventions negotiated by the Central American conference at Washington and named representatives on the proposed Central American tribunal.

CHINA

The Chinese Government's proposal of March 10 to abrogate the Sino-Japanese treaty of 1915, which contained the noted "twenty-one demands" and extended for fifty years the Japanese leases on the Kwangtung Peninsula, including Dalny and Port Arthur, was rejected by Japan on March 14. Japan characterized such a proposal as contrary to accepted international practices, and declared it would "fail to contribute to the advancement of friendship between our two countries." Japan could see "absolutely nothing" in the treaty and its kindred agreements which is "susceptible of further modification."

The resignation of the Ministry followed a split between Premier Chang Tsao-tsien and the Chihli war-lords over the methods of bringing about the unification of China. President Li Yuan-hung referred the Ministry's resignation to Parliament and urged the Premier to reconsider

his decision. This shifting of responsibility placed the Parliament in a dilemma.

The British Government decided on March 30 to remit to the Chinese what was still due on account of the Boxer indemnity to Great Britain.

COLOMBIA

Dr. Jorge Valez, Minister of Foreign Relations of Colombia, has officially announced that before six months have elapsed the Governments of Colombia and Panama will resume normal diplomatic relations. Treaties and plans are being worked out rapidly for the establishment of close intercourse between the two countries, whose relations have left much to be desired since the Department of Panama seceded in 1904. The negotiations are part of the program of the Colombian Government to settle all differences with its neighbors.

By allowing General Penaloza, the Venezuelan political refugee, to establish his residence in the interior of Colombia, the Bogota Government has virtually denied the extradition demand of the Government of General Gomez.

CUBA

President Zayas on April 4 called for the resignation of his Reform Cabinet, much to the surprise of both Havana and Washington. The exact causes were not made public, but it was hoped the program of eliminating graft and corruption would be continued. Expressions of the desire of the United States to that effect were sent to Ambassador Crowder.

Manuel Despaigne, Secretary of the Treasury, estimates Cuban revenues for the year ending June 30 at \$68,371,400, or \$11,166,100 more than the receipts of the last fiscal year, showing a decided improvement in the finances of the republic.

Havana university students, who have been carrying on a campaign of strikes and demonstrations for several months, succeeded in forcing the rector, Dr. José Antolin del Cueto, to offer his resignation, which was accepted on March 18. Dr. Adolfo Aragon was appointed rector by the Secretary of Public Instruction.

The first annual congress of Cuban women ended on April 7. Laws were demanded to force fathers of illegitimate children to pay for their upkeep in proportion to their income, removing the burden from their unfortunate mothers.

DENMARK

While the trial of the former Danish Counselor of State, Emil Glückstadt, for his part in the calamitous mismanagement of the Landmans-

bank, continued, a full description published March 26 of the situation created at Copenhagen by the difficulties of the bank showed the engagements that created the crisis to be similar in nature to those which existed after the breakdown of 1921 in New York and other commercial centres. The bank's difficulties were caused by its promotion of the Transatlantic Company and its affiliated companies during the "boom period." After great difficulty in discovering the total liabilities of the Landmansbank, a careful compilation made at Copenhagen shows that the total sum written off on large special engagements amounted to 137,000,000 kroner, or a trifle under \$37,000,000. The grand total of liabilities is now footed up at 231,000,000 kroner, or a little over \$62,000,000. When the report on the bank was made last Autumn the total was believed to be 47,700,000 kroner less.

EGYPT

A new Ministry was formed by Yehia Pasha Ibrahim on March 15 as follows:



P. & A.

YEHIA PASHA IBRAHIM—
Prime Minister and
Minister of Interior.
HESHIMAT PASHA—
Foreign Affairs.
TAWFIK RIFAAT PASHA—
Education.
ZIWAR PASHA—
Communications.
MUHIR PASHA—
Finance.
AHMED ALI PASHA—
Pious Foundations.
HAFEZ HASSAN PASHA—
Public Works.
MAHMUD AZMI PASHA—
War.
AHMED ZULIFIKAR
PASHA—Justice.
FAUZI BEY MOTEI—
Agriculture.

The Budget statement, issued on March 25, showed a surplus of nearly \$25,000,000. For the King there was an increase of more than \$500,000, and nearly \$750,000 for the maintenance of the British troops in Egypt.

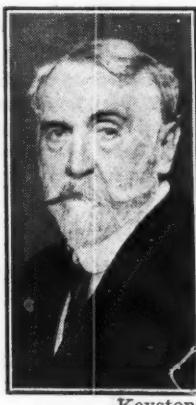
The Premier announced on March 25 that, as a concession to him, the British had agreed to withdraw charges against members of the Zaghlulist Executive Committee. Zaghlul Pasha was released from captivity at Gibraltar on March 30. This was by order of the British Foreign Office on the ground of the Egyptian Nationalist leader's ill health.

ENGLAND

Increasing dissatisfaction with the Government's "no Ruhr policy," as defined by Prime Minister Bonar Law in the House of Commons on March 7, when he remarked "that to have a policy which could not succeed was worse than to have no policy at all," culminated in a narrow escape from parliamentary defeat on March 13. Against a combined attack of Liberals and Laborites on the Government's attitude of "benevolent neutrality" toward France—in the face of such an act by the French as cutting off the British Army of Occupation from all contact with unoccupied Germany—the Government was able to muster a majority of only forty-eight with 400 members voting. These figures were held to indicate the abstention of more than fifty equally dissatisfied Conservative supporters, notwithstanding the Government's plea that, far from getting more serious, the situation "was in some respects getting less serious." During another attack on the Government on March 28, Ronald McNeill, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, stated that the suggestion of Baron von Rosenberg, German Foreign Minister, for the formation of an international commission of investigation was nothing more than the idea put forward sometime ago by the American Secretary of State. On April 6 Louis Loucheur, former Minister of the Liberated Regions, concluded a visit to London. Although he came in an unofficial capacity, he met several British political leaders, including the Prime Minister and Lloyd George. He returned to France convinced that a decidedly more favorable view of the French policy in the Ruhr was developing in England, with an Anglo-French agreement becoming possible.

Changes in the Cabinet, announced on March 7, included the transfer of Neville Chamberlain from Postmaster General to become Minister of Health, and Sir William Joyson Hicks from the Overseas Trade Department to be Postmaster General.

Extraordinary public interest was roused by the introduction by Philip Snowden, one of the



Keystone

LORD D'ABERNON

Known as Sir Edgar Vincent Until Raised to the Peerage in 1914; He Has Been British Ambassador to Germany Since 1920. Reference to His Attitude on the Franco-German Crisis Is Made by M. Tardieu in His Article on Pages 257-261 of This Magazine

leading Labor members in the House of Commons, on March 20 of a bill for the nationalization of land and the abolition of private property in land; and later, during the same session, of a resolution in favor of socialism. This was the first occasion in British parliamentary history that such a motion had received the support of the recognized Opposition. As the subject was considered as of too great importance to be dealt with in the three hours allowed for debate, the Prime Minister agreed to provide more time for discussion later in the session.

The Government announced on April 9 that the conference of Prime Ministers of the Empire would meet at the same time as the Imperial Economic Conference in London on Oct. 1. (An article bearing upon this subject will be found on pages 266-275 of this magazine.)

A sensation was caused by the defeat of the Government in the House of Commons on April 10 by 145 to 138 votes as the result of a snap division. The following day the Labor Opposition made a demonstration and demanded that the Government resign. During the stormy scene that arose, Labor members sang "The Red Flag" and personal encounters took place between some of them and Government supporters. The Speaker finally exercised his authority to suspend the sitting. On April 12 the Government acceded to the Labor demand for an inquiry into the condition of ex-service men, the subject which led to the defeat two days previously. Subsequently the Government obtained a normal majority of 242 to 135 votes.

In bringing naval expenditure down to a minimum compatible with safety and in accordance with the provisions of the Washington treaty, Lieut. Col. Amery, First Lord of the Admiralty, stated in the House of Commons on March 12 that the gross navy estimates had been reduced from £92,500,000 to £61,500,000, and the net estimates from £83,000,000 to £58,000,000. To attain this result the personnel had been cut down by 23,000 officers and men and 10,000 employes in the dockyards, fourteen splendid ships had been rendered impotent, and supplies of munitions, fuel and stores severely curtailed. The First Lord added that for the next four years the British fleet would be actually less in strength than the United States Navy.

With the number of registered unemployed officially stated on March 22 as more than 1,300,000, strikes began to occur again in different parts of the country. In agriculture, coal mining and skilled electrical work, 50,000 men were out by April 1. It was estimated on April 7 that over 700,000 workers were involved in disputes with their employers.

The death was announced on March 27 of Sir James Dewar, whose contributions to chemical science were recognized throughout the world.

The Earl of Carnarvon, whose archaeological work in connection with the tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen had brought him into prominence, died at Cairo on April 5.

ESTHONIA

The first session of the first Estonian Parliament adjourned March 8 until the new Parliamentary elections are over. In summing up the activities of the Parliament, Paevaleht maintained that several of the laws adopted would surely be rejected by popular vote. The law of cultural autonomy for national minorities caused lively debates at its first reading, although every speaker urged the necessity for the law. Foreign Minister Hellat demanded the bill's adoption out of respect to the League of Nations. It was attacked by the Social Democrat Martna, and the People's Party Deputy Tönnisson, both of whom vented their nationalistic hatred for the Germans. Because of M. Tönnisson's onslaught, the Swedish minority rejected the proposal of the People's Party to form a bloc in the Parliamentary elections, and decided to vote independently.

A partial Ministerial crisis, threatened by Interior Minister Einbunds leaving the People's Party, was avoided by the party's declaration that it remained with the Government without being represented in the Cabinet. A crisis was further threatened by the resignation of the Minister of Communications, M. Ipsberg, because the measures requested by him for erection of new Government buildings were balked in Parliament.

FINLAND

The amnesty campaign on behalf of the several hundred persons still in prison for fighting with the Reds against the White Guards in Finland's war of independence in 1918, continues to be waged by the Social Democrats and the "Social Laborites" (as the Communists are now officially called, because the Communist Party is outlawed in Finland), with heated debates in the Parliament. The Socialists' loss of political strength in the municipal elections of last December has militated against complete success in this campaign. Though the release of a number of these prisoners under a sort of amnesty proclamation has been reported, there have been cases in which returning labor radicals from abroad have been jailed on charges of agitation against the Finnish Government during their exile.

The American Debt Funding Commission on March 10 negotiated a tentative program for refunding the debt of Finland to the United States. The terms included extension of time for payment over a period of sixty-two years, with in-

terest at 3 per cent. for the first ten years and 3½ per cent. thereafter. Interest on the debt was fixed at the rate of 4½ per cent. to Dec. 15 last, when the 3 per cent. rate was made effective. The Finnish Government had borrowed \$10,000,000, but this amount had been reduced by almost \$1,000,000, and the tentative agreement calculated refunding on the basis of \$9,000,000, the difference of about \$150,000 to be paid in cash. Dr. Kaarlo Juho Stahlberg, President of the Finnish Republic, on March 21 signed a bill authorizing the Government to arrange the refunding of this debt within the scope of the terms of the foregoing tentative agreement.

FRANCE

M. de Kerguezec, President of the Naval Committee of the French Senate, in a statement to The Associated Press April 5, advocated the calling of another naval conference which would have for its object the scrapping of all big navies. At the end of March work was going ahead on the modernization of France's six capital ships, including changes to increase the range of their guns. The Chamber of Deputies on March 29 adopted the bill reducing the term of military service from two years to eighteen months. Figures were made public showing that the army had been reduced 25 per cent. and the navy 50 per cent. as compared with pre-war strength.

Deputy Guernier reported to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber, March 21, in favor of ratifying the Washington Naval Treaty, but with such exceptions and reservations as led the committee to postpone its recommendations until Premier Poincaré, M. Briand and M. Viviani could be heard. M. Poincaré later informed Deputy Guernier that the Government had decided to introduce a second bill which would include an article embodying the reservations recommended in M. Guernier's report.

A more favorable impression in foreign markets concerning the Ruhr undertaking and continued optimism at home were reasons assigned in Paris for the marked improvement in French exchange during the greater part of March.

The more important aspects of the situation created by the French occupation in the Ruhr are treated in an article on the Franco-German deadlock, which appears elsewhere in this magazine.

FRENCH WEST AFRICA

A serious rebellion broke out at Porto Novo, Dahomey, on Feb. 12, followed by strikes in several workshops and general disorder, which lasted

for some days. The intensity of the agitation reached a climax when the rebels, armed with rifles, drove the native police from their suburban posts. A detachment of tirailleurs sent to subdue the rebels were surrounded and compelled to use their rifles. Thereupon the Governor General, M. Merlin, proclaimed a state of siege, and ordered to Porto Novo sufficient troops with machine guns to overawe the rebels. With the arrest of the leaders and the disarmament of their followers peace was restored.

GERMANY

Apart from the situation arising from the French occupation of the Ruhr (which is dealt with in an article on the Franco-German deadlock elsewhere in this magazine), the most serious development in Germany has been the growing acuteness of the financial and economic crisis.

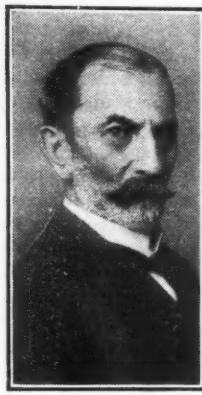
One of the most ominous symptoms was the failure of the internal gold loan to reach more than half of the 200,000,000 gold marks, or \$50,000,000, asked for by the Government.

Political as well as financial circles were stirred by the revelation that the deficit in Germany's budget for the year ended March 31 was 7,100,000,000 paper marks, as against an estimate of 843,000,000 last Autumn. The Finance Ministry attributed this deficiency largely to the

Ruhr occupation. During the first ten days of March the outstanding Federal public indebtedness increased by 1,455,576,000,000 marks, or more than the entire debt at the end of last November.

Currency inflation throughout March proceeded at a headlong pace. The total outstanding circulation stood at 4,272,511,000,000 marks on March 15, as against 1,270,573,000,000 at the end of 1922. The Reichsbank's statement showed that 683,123,000,000 marks in new notes were put in circulation the week ending March 30, which was larger by 232,000,000,000 marks than any previous weekly increase.

The Federal commodity index number of March 24 showed that prices on the basis of 100 for 1914 stood at 4,827 as compared with 5,967 at the beginning of February. Conditions were reported as particularly bad in the textile trade, and the



P. & A.

HERR HAVENSTEIN

President of the Reichsbank (the State Bank) of Germany

shoe industry reduced working hours to twenty-four weekly. Dr. Luther, Minister of Food Supply, told the Budget Committee of the Reichstag, according to the Berliner Tageblatt of March 11, that there were 9,000,000 persons in the nation receiving public support of some kind.

The extent to which conditions in Germany have affected the tourist business was indicated by the fact that only 12,375 foreigners registered at Berlin hotels in February as against eight times that number in the same month of 1922.

At a meeting of Upper Silesian industrial magnates in Berlin April 1 great progress was reported in the transplanting of Silesian industries to Thuringia to escape what was considered as the unfavorable conditions of the Polish régime and to take advantage of the attractive labor and natural resources of the German State, despite its Socialist Government. Miners and other workers in Upper Silesia went on strike in the middle of March in protest against the so-called self-defense associations.

Open defiance of the Bavarian Cabinet by Adolph Hitler and his reactionary followers preceded the arrest early in March of a number of Monarchs charged with aiming at the overthrow of the Bavarian Government. The Federal Supreme Court at Leipsic handed down a decision declaring the Hitlerite National Socialist organizations illegal and also decreeing the dissolution of similar organizations in Berlin, Baden, Thuringia, Hamburg and Saxony. Subsequent raids on nationalist clubs in various cities resulted in numerous arrests and the confiscation of letters and papers in connection with plots to change passive resistance in the Ruhr into active hostility against France.

GREECE

The most serious development of the month in Greece was the insistent demand of the Turks for an indemnity which Greece is firmly resolved not to pay, on the ground that such an additional burden on the depleted finances of the country would bring about its complete financial, political and social collapse. In the words of the Greek Foreign Minister, Greece would refuse to sign the peace treaty rather than pay an indemnity on top of the destruction of the entire Greek population of Asia Minor, Anatolia and even Constantinople. The Greek Commander in Chief, General Pangalos, declared that should the Turks become unmanageable, the Greek Army would be in a position to advance and reoccupy Eastern Thrace without much difficulty.

The exchange of prisoners between Greece and Turkey began on March 17, in accordance with a special agreement signed in Lausanne between

Eleutherios Venizelos and Ismet Pasha. It was calculated that this exchange would be completed within three months.

The first Greek prisoners of war to reach Athens arrived on April 1. They were in such a state of privation and suffering that they created a tremendous impression on the population. Clad in rags, and in most cases barefoot, pale, worn out and suffering, they looked more dead than alive.

The refugee question continued to present a most serious aspect, especially after America's decision of April 3 to withdraw the Red Cross Mission, and to cease the free feeding and clothing of the refugees by June 30. The Greek Government is terribly handicapped by lack of funds, and with no foreign loan forthcoming the situation is ominous. As things stand today, Greece is spending 50,000,000 drachmas monthly for the support of the refugee population, and, although this figure is the equivalent of only \$500,000, it constitutes a great load for the Public Treasury to carry.

General Papoulias, ex-Commander in Chief of the Greek Army in Asia Minor, who afterward turned against Constantine and the constitutional régime on April 1, was found responsible of serious irregularities in the army commissariat service, and commanded to appear before a special committee. He succeeded in making his escape to Egypt before an order of arrest was issued against him.

HAITI

Haiti is endeavoring to redeem the balance of her external 5 per cent. loan of 65,000,000 francs floated in Paris in 1910, when the franc was worth 20 cents, but seeks to pay it in paper francs worth about 7 cents, which the French bondholders refuse.

Reports to the American High Commissioner show an astonishing improvement in Haitian conditions within a year. The death rate has fallen appreciably, that in the prisons being reduced almost to the vanishing point. The spread of smallpox has been prevented, and cholera largely wiped out. Crime has decreased and there is practically no banditry. Work has begun on a road that will cut the time between Port-au-Prince and Santo Domingo City from three days to one. Despite the recent completion of a salt water high pressure system in the capital, a disastrous fire on March 14 destroyed the Texas Company's building and two-thirds of a business block, injuring forty persons, one fatally.

Orders were issued in March for the withdrawal of American marines from the interior of Haiti, and it was stated that by April 15 only one

marine guard would be left, that at St. Michel, where a quantity of equipment is stored.

HAWAII

Amendment of the prohibition law to permit the manufacture and sale of beer and light wines was requested of Congress by a resolution introduced on March 5 in the Territorial Legislature. It says that enforcement of the Volstead act has worked a manifest hardship on the people and has increased drunkenness and hypocrisy.

Kilauea Volcano, on Hawaii Island, is more active than it has been for years. On its sides are forty acres of fire and ten fountains are spouting lava estimated to amount to 3,000,000 cubic yards weekly.

HOLLAND

For many months a bitter controversy has been going on in Holland concerning the question of adopting protective tariffs for certain Netherlands industries, threatened with total ruin from the depression caused in the country by competition with Central European and other neighboring countries with low-currency values. Holland is handicapped by high wages and heavy taxation. This tariff question involves tense political issues and has been occupying the Dutch people and press to the exclusion of everything else except grievances regarding hindrance to commerce and shipping in the Ruhr. The vehement pro-tariff efforts of the Dutch press, Chambers of Commerce, and industrialists conflict with the time-honored economic policy of the Dutch, which is based on free trade and open markets. The free-trade conservatives feel that even a temporary adoption of protection will mean abandonment of a classic national principle.

Het Volk notes a gradual reinforcement of the Social Democratic Labor Party, which is unceasing in its agitation against the occupation of the Ruhr. On March 22, M. Brautigam, a Social-Democratic member of Parliament, with a long list of Dutch commercial and shipping grievances in the Ruhr, interpellated Foreign Minister van Karnebeek, demanding to know what steps he had taken, or was taking, to alleviate these grievances, and asking information regarding French and Belgian intentions in the Ruhr. Jonkheer van Karnebeek had to parry these questions for lack of definite information from the French and Belgian Governments, but stated his belief that the regulations of those countries had been changed to the benefit of Dutch interests.

Great preparations are under way for the twenty-fifth anniversary of Queen Wilhelmina's reign, on Aug. 18, especially in honor of her steering her State through the storms of the World War.

HUNGARY

The economic and financial situation in Hungary is reported to be gradually growing worse. The Government has decided to dismiss one-fifth of the State employees within a year to save expenses. Living costs are rising; all classes of employees are agitating for higher wages, and strikes and lockouts are frequent.

The Interallied Military Mission on March 29 attempted a search of the home at Keeskeme of Ivan Hejjaz, leader of the "Awakening Magyars," but was driven off by the populace amid a shower of stones.

Having been successful in confiscating the estates of Count Michael Karolyi, the Hungarian Government is about to try Baron Ludwig Hatvanyi, who had fled to Vienna, on a charge of high treason. He was a member of the delegation headed by Count Karolyi that went to Belgrade to negotiate terms of the armistice in 1918.

Dr. Emerich Beer, Vice President of the Republican Party, was sentenced on March 7 to eighteen months in prison and a fine of 30,000 crowns on a charge of carrying on republican propaganda. Arrests and convictions of critics of the Horthy régime are becoming common.

Budapest was the scene of serious anti-Jewish riots in the latter half of March.

INDIA

The Indian Retrenchment Committee presented a report in which there was scarcely an item of expenditure too small to escape criticism. Excluding debt services, pensions, and other payments not susceptible of reductions, it was decided to cut the general expenditure of over £105,000,000 by £12,500,000.

In the Legislative Assembly on March 9 the White Slave Traffic bill, which raised the age of consent in girls from 16 to 18, was formally passed.

On March 14 Mr. Burdon, Army Secretary, explained to the Assembly the details under which eight regiments were to be Indianized, it being anticipated that it would take 23 years to wholly Indianize the officers unless exceptional promotions were made.

The Government suffered a defeat in the Assembly on March 14 when the railways budget was reduced by £759,926 in order to force the transfer of annuities from revenue to capital account. Another rebuff was suffered by the Government on March 18 when the Assembly refused to pass the vote for the expenses of the Royal Commission on Indian Services. After the Council had agreed on March 23 to double the salt tax by 28 votes to 10, the Assembly on March 26 rejected the enhanced duty by 58 to 47.

A report from Calcutta, dated March 18, stated that Devadas Gandhi (son of Mohandas Gandhi), who was released from jail in the United Provinces on Jan. 29, was promoting a British boycott and organizing a *hartal* to celebrate the anniversary of his father's incarceration.

Figures supplied by J. Martin, Census Commissioner for India, show that the population is approximately 319,000,000 people, a gain of 1.2 per cent. over the population of 1911. The average density of population over the whole of India was 177 to the square mile, and the maximum provincial density—in Bengal—608 to the square mile.

Reports from Peshawar, dated March 23, stated that the Frontier Constabulary had made a successful roundup of Mahsud raiders at Murgha, in the Sherani country, in which four of the enemy were killed, five wounded, and seventeen captured. In Waziristan road work to connect Razmak with Sara Rogha and between Isha and Razmak Narai, was going on, though somewhat hampered by parties of Mahsuds sniping at camps and cutting telegraph wires.

IRAQ

Excavations at the Temple of the Moon God at Ur of the Chaldees were suspended for the season, according to a Bagdad message of March 7. The results were held to have more than repaid the cost incurred. Thus in one chamber, probably the innermost shrine, a valuable hoard was discovered, including many bracelets and necklaces, mostly of gold. A tiled courtyard, equipped with a gutter, was believed to have been the site of the ancient blood sacrifices.

Concerning the question of the British military occupation, it was understood that the view of the British Government was that its termination should be aimed at gradually over a limited period, not exceeding five years, by which time it was hoped that the Arab State of Iraq would be able to maintain its independent position.

IRELAND

FREE STATE

President Cosgrave, who is also Minister of Finance, in a statement on March 7 not only made optimistic references to the break-up of the Republican organization, but also to the excellent financial position of the Free State in spite of the drain made upon it by activities of the Republicans. "We figured," he said, "on a deficit of \$47,000,000 for the current year, when we had all sorts of extraordinary expenses in setting up the Government, army costs, and so forth. Actually the deficit will

be much less than that. This year we have got in \$32,000,000."

Kevin O'Higgins, Minister of Home Affairs, stated on March 10 that he voiced the united opinion of the Cabinet when he said that the proposals of a section of the clergy, headed by Archbishop Harty of Cashel, for a truce could not be accepted in view of their failure to coincide with the Government's determination to "stamp out this worst form of oppression that has ever been attempted in any country."

One hundred and ten Republicans, including Art O'Brien, President of the Irish Self-Determination League, and Sean McGrath, Secretary of the League, were landed on the Irish coast from a British cruiser on March 12 and conveyed by automobiles to Mountjoy Prison, Dublin. This action was the result of a general round-up and deportation of undesirable Irish citizens in Great Britain, concerning which the House of Commons voted approval by 260 to 152 votes on March 12, and reapproval by 266 to 147 on March 19.

The arrival in Dublin on March 19 of Mgr. Luzio of the Sacred Congregation, entrusted by the Vatican with an investigation of the state of affairs in Ireland, was believed to have been in response to the appeal of certain Republicans to the Pope.

Considerable dissatisfaction was expressed over some of the provisions of the estimates as presented to the Dail by President Cosgrave on March 26. It was remarked that the total estimate of £42,250,000 exceeded by £10,000,000 the maximum cost of Great Britain's government of the country; that the estimate of £10,600,000 for the army was unduly high, even taking into account the need of the times; and that £3,000,000 for the Post Office, conducted at an annual loss of £1,500,000, was an extravagance; £10,300,000 was set down for property losses.

On March 31 the last outpost of British rule in Ireland ceased to exist when a final unit of the Royal Irish Constabulary departed from Haulbowline Island in Cork Harbor.

The plight of the Republicans was revealed by a number of captured documents made public on April 9. One of them contained a statement by Eamon de Valera that he was "condemned to view the tragedy through a wall of glass, powerless to intervene effectively."

With the death of Liam Lynch, the vigorous and uncompromising Republican Chief of Staff, at Clonmel on April 10, after being wounded and captured by Republican troops, it was generally felt that the Republican cause had suffered a mortal blow. Six more Republicans were executed at Tuam on April 11, thus bringing the total of such reprisals up to 73.

ITALY

Premier Mussolini, in Milan, on March 28, had as guest at luncheon M. Jasper, the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, with other notables, to discuss the Belgian and Italian positions on international questions, and mutual satisfaction was expressed with the exchange of views. Following a conference in Brussels, held by King Albert, Premier Theunis, and Foreign Minister Jasper, it was officially announced on March 30 that there was complete accord among the Italian, French, and Belgian Governments concerning their attitude toward Germany.

Princess Yolanda and Count Calvi di Bergolo were married on April 9 in two short ceremonies impressive for the distinguished character of the personages participating, and the sumptuousness of the setting.

The Premier, on March 17, ordered seven members of the Fascista Grand Council to draw up a bill reforming the electoral system. Michele Bianchi, Secretary General of the Fascista Party, on March 26, in a speech at Milan, urged abolition of the existing elective system to secure a longer Premiership and prolonged services of so strong a Government.

Judicial unity of Italy was secured for the first time on March 24 by the Cabinet's drastic decision to abolish the four Courts of Cassation, four Courts of Appeal, 57 Courts of First Instance and 550 petty courts. Instead there is to be only one Court of Cassation, to sit in Rome.

By Princess Yolanda's plea, 1,000 women, representing 10 per cent. of the women railway employes affected by an official retrenchment order issued a month before, were retained in their positions.

Much significance was attached to the formal visit, March 12, of Signor Filippo Cremonesi, the Royal Commissioner for Rome, to Cardinal Pompilj, the Pope's Vicar General, as ritual head of the city. This was the first officially recognized communication between the lay and the Vatican civic authorities under the present régime.

In recognition of the victorious campaign of Count Volpi, Governor of Tripoli, the Colonial Minister gave the Count a grand reception in Rome, March 14. The total losses of the campaign were seven officers and thirty men killed, and twenty-six officers and fifty-eight men wounded among the white troops, besides 315 native soldiers killed and wounded.

On March 30, Ex-Khedive Abbas Hilmi of Egypt was expelled from Italy by the Government for alleged propaganda activities.

Premier Mussolini, Secretary General Contarini of Foreign Affairs, and the Jugoslav Minister, M. Antonievitch, on March 8 attended the meeting of the Italian and Jugoslav delegates who began

their labors on an Italo-Jugoslav commercial-treaty. M. Mussolini expressed hope of closer understanding and intimate economic bonds between the two countries.

On the occasion of the definite evacuation of the Zara economic zone, on March 12, General Barbarie of the Italian Army and General Militch of the Jugoslav Army took part in a grand review of troops at Belgrade.

The Premier on March 7 demanded exemplary punishment of the leaders of an attack on an Italian priest and seventeen Italian workmen while passing through Bavaria, and compensation for the victims who were ousted from a train and manhandled. M. Mussolini notified the German and Bavarian Governments that the new Italy would defend her subjects from maltreatment, regardless of consequences.

On March 16 King Victor Emmanuel signed two decrees giving full effect to the Washington labor convention of 1919, covering unemployment, the eight-hour day, night work for women and the employment of youth in industry.

JAPAN

An arrangement for the abrogation of the Lansing-Ishii agreement, and for supplanting it with the Nine-Power Treaty signed at the Washington Armament Conference, was entered into by the Governments of Japan and the United States, March 30, with the object of clearing up misunderstandings in the relations between the two countries. The Lansing-Ishii agreement was embodied in an exchange of notes on Nov. 2, 1917, between Secretary of State Robert Lansing and Viscount Ishii, head of a special Japanese mission to the United States incident to the American entrance into the World War. It provided, among other things, that the United States recognize that Japan had "special interests" in China. Interpretation of this term became the object of long controversy. The Japanese Government contended that it gave Japan superior rights in China; this contention the United States denied. The Nine-Power compact was signed by the United States, Japan, China, Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, The Netherlands and Portugal. In the opinion of President Harding it precludes any possible ambiguity of import.

A motion from the Opposition in the Diet to impeach the Government, on March 17, precipitated a mêlée in which the members pelted each other with inkstands and trays. The Speaker prorogued the Diet.

The Foreign Minister on March 11 said of the Chinese note proposing abrogation of the Chino-Japanese Treaty of 1915 that Japan would never change or abrogate those treaties, nor consider retrocession of Dalny and Port Arthur. A public movement, known as the National League of

Japan, was launched on March 28 to oppose any action toward such abrogation as the Chinese proposed.

The Government intends to spend only 20,000 yen, or approximately \$10,000, to encourage emigration during the coming year. This is interpreted as a recognition of the difficulty of finding countries where the Japanese are welcome, or whether they are willing to go. According to an official statement made in the Diet, March 10, few Japanese are willing to go to South America.

A commission of Japanese physicians and medical students arrived in New York, March 20, as guests of the Rockefeller Foundation, to study and report on American and Canadian medical institutions and methods. The Japanese Minister of Education appointed the commission.

Prince Kitashirakawa, brother-in-law of the Emperor of Japan, was killed in an automobile accident, April 1, in Normandy, France. Prince Asaka, the Emperor's brother, and Princess Kitashirakawa, his sister, who were seriously injured, were expected to recover.

JUGOSLAVIA

General elections were held on March 18 for the first Parliament of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, succeeding the Constituent Assembly chosen in 1920. The result is rather negative, no party having a working majority. Nikola Pashitch, the Premier, was far in the lead, his party candidates securing 120 seats out of the total 313. Raditch, leader of the Croatian opposition, who wants a federalized Government, and most of whose adherents refused to take seats in the Assembly, came in second, with 70 Deputies. The Democratic Centre Party got 50 seats, a heavy loss compared with their former strength. The other 73 places are divided among a number of small groups.

A coalition between the Pashitch followers and the Democrats is believed likely. The radicals, led by Pashitch, and a section of the Democrats stand for the present system of centralized Government from Belgrade. At a meeting of the Croatian Party in Zagreb (Agram) on March 25, under the Presidency of M. Raditch, a resolution was passed favoring retention of the union with the Serbs and Slovenes, and their leader declared: "We may have differences of opinion with Serbia, but we shall never break away from her."

LATVIA

The final agreement on the demarcation of the Russo-Latvian frontier was signed April 7, after two years' work by a mixed commission of Letts and Russians. This is said to be the first defi-

nately fixed frontier agreement signed by Soviet Russia.

Decision to accept the Latvian President's invitation to the Socialists to participate in forming a Coalition Cabinet was reached at a special meeting of the Socialist Party leaders in the middle of March. Four of these leaders were sent into the new Government, in the hope to exert a liberalizing influence upon the Conservative elements, safeguard the rights of the labor organizations, and nip in the bud the plans of bands of "gilded" Latvian youths, who are trying to imitate the Italian Fascisti. The Coalition Cabinet consists of the following Ministers:

JANIS PAULUKS—Premier and Minister of Transportation (Non-partisan).

S. MEIEROVITS—Foreign Affairs (Peasants' League).

F. ZEELENS—Vice Foreign Minister (Social Democrat).

P. BERGIS—Interior (Democratic Centre).

E. BAUERS—Agriculture (Democratic Centre).

P. GALLITS—Education (Peasants' League).

K. DEKENS—Vice Minister of Education (Social Democrat).

J. DUZENS—Defense (Peasants' League).

W. HOLTZMANS—Justice (Right Socialist).

K. LORENZS—Labor (Social Democrat).

A. BUSHEVIZ—Finance (Social Democrat).

As the new Government is supported by about three-fourths of the 100 members of Parliament, it bids fair to function smoothly unless trouble arises between the Social Democrats and the rather conservative Peasants' League.

The Cabinet, on March 14, fixed the budget for 1923-24. The ordinary expenditures amount to 128,406,157 lats (normally \$24,782,388.30), and the extraordinary expenditures to 45,957,773 lats, or a total of 174,383,930 lats (normally \$33,656,103.49). The estimated revenue balances this outlay.

LITHUANIA

Excitement over the Memel and Vilna questions reached an ominous pitch in the second week of April. As earlier recorded, the Lithuanian Government was required to accept in principle the decision of the Council of Ambassadors of Feb. 16 that Memel should come under Lithuanian sovereignty, but that the City of Memel should have a special status, providing for transport facilities over the Niemen River, and insuring Poland and other powers the right to use the Memel Harbor. The Lithuanian Government on March 13 notified the Council of Ambassadors that it accepted this decision, and was sending representatives to Paris to settle with the Polish delegates the application of the new régime under the auspices of the Council of Ambassadors.

M. Tchitcherin, the Soviet Foreign Minister, on March 13 sent a second note to England, France

and Italy confirming his previous protest against the council's decision, and declaring that if the Allies ignore Russia "the Soviet Government will hold them responsible for all damages and prejudices that may be caused her, and on the first occasion when a settlement of mutual accounts takes place the Soviet Government will demand compensation for all such damages."

The Lithuanian Chamber of Deputies was dissolved on March 15, but, though M. Galvanauskas's resignation had been accepted, he continued as provisional head of the Government until the designation of his successor, and as such headed the delegation on Memel to Paris.

The Council of Ambassadors, assembled at the Quai d'Orsay, Paris, after examining the work of the commission of experts relative to the delimitation of the Polish-Russo-Lithuanian frontiers, on March 16 reached its decision attributing Vilna and the Vilna region to Poland. The same day the Lithuanian Minister to London, M. Narushevicz, protested to the British Foreign Office, declaring that this sanctioning of General Zeligowski's coup de force artificially and violently separated two parts of an organic national whole united for centuries, "stultified" the Versailles Treaty, set aside the existing Russo-Lithuanian Treaty, contradicted the objects of the League of Nations Covenant and might precipitate untoward events for which the Lithuanian Nation "must waive all responsibility."

All sections of the Lithuanian press, in the next few days, denounced the Vilna decision as unjust and illegal, proving that the Entente had done with a peace policy founded on law and justice, and declared that Lithuania regarded the decision as null and void.

MEXICO

Campaigning has begun in Mexico to choose a successor to General Obregon for President in the election in September next year, and it is announced that a convention will be held soon by the majority party to nominate a candidate. General Plutarco Calles, Secretary of the Interior, is regarded as its logical nominee and will have the backing of President Obregon, who is barred by the Constitution from succeeding himself. Adolfo de la Huerta, Secretary of the Treasury, has announced that he is not a candidate and will also support Calles.

The Communists, who advocate a revolution "to liberate workingmen in Mexico, as has been accomplished in Russia," on April 2 placarded the capital with posters urging armed revolt. Vera Cruz, however, is the chief hotbed of Red radicalism. Armed bands of Agrarians have been overrunning the country, and the State Government is apparently indifferent to complaints. Deputies from Vera Cruz appealed to President Obregon on April 8 for Federal intervention

against the activities of the Agrarians, declaring that the State Government was supporting the subversive elements which had superseded Municipal Governments in more than a hundred localities.

Yucatan is another centre of agitation. The State is completely in the hands of the Socialists. Legislation approved by the youthful Socialist Governor, Felipe Carrillo, which became effective on April 3, provided for the easiest divorces on the American Continent.

Circulars were sent out by the Department of Agriculture on March 31 ordering all holders of land in excess of 5,000 acres to dispose of their surplus to Mexican citizens. This order is especially aimed at accumulation of large properties by Americans. William G. McAdoo, attorney for E. J. Marshall, one of the principal stockholders of the Palomares Land Company, visited Mexico City in March to begin negotiations for the restoration of American-owned property in Chihuahua taken over by the Government.

NEW ZEALAND

The result of the important by-election to fill the vacant seat for Tauranga was announced on March 28. Mr. Macmillan, the Reform Party's candidate, won by a majority of 1,100 over Sir Joseph Ward, who stood as an Independent Liberal. Mr. Massey, the Prime Minister, speaking after the result was made known, said that he believed that it would now be possible to avoid a general election, and that he accepted the verdict of the Tauranga electors as an indication that the Government could go on with its present majority. The Government's Parliamentary majority is so small that Sir Joseph Ward's return would probably have made it impossible for Mr. Massey to carry on without some arrangement with the Liberals. There is little difference between the Reform and Liberal Parties in matters of policy; the real division is between them and the Labor Party. Personal considerations form the chief obstacle to fusion.

NORWAY

The conflict of the Left's prohibition program with Norway's commercial interests in wine-producing countries was the fundamental cause of the change of Government from the Left, headed by Otto Blehr, back to the Right, under Otto B. Halvorsen, March 5. The new Cabinet Ministers are:

OTTO B. HALVORSEN—Premier and Minister of Justice.

CHR. M. MICHELET—Foreign Affairs.

CORNELIUS MIDDELTHON—Labor.

ODD KLINGENBERG—Social Welfare.

ABRAHAM BERGE—Finance.

IVAR SAELEN—Churches.
ANDERS VENGER—Agriculture.
K. WEFRING—Defense.
RYE HOLMBOE—Commerce.

The new Ministry, according to editorial comment in the Conservative press of Christiania, meets with general confidence. The former Halvorsen Ministry, of Rights and Liberal Lefts, was superseded by the Blehr Ministry of Lefts on June 21, 1921, being defeated by a prohibitionists' alliance with the Socialists, who disapproved of Halvorsen's handling of the general strike. Halvorsen's strong administrative record of that year is now considered a great asset because of widespread fear of the Communists, who have twenty-five members in the Storthing. Most of the new Ministers were in Halvorsen's former Government.

The first important act under the new Government was the Storthing's abolition, March 26, of prohibition on heavy wines, with the King's immediate sanction of the bill. Under former Premier Blehr the Government had been authorized to conclude a commercial treaty with Portugal on the basis of free importation of wines into Norway up to 21 per cent. alcoholic content. The prohibition of brandy remained unchanged. For four years the alcoholic content had been limited to 14 per cent.

The Storthing, on April 1, passed a bill creating a State monopoly to take over the importation and sale of all unprohibited alcoholic beverages. "The Wine Monopoly" (Vinmonopolet) is a State controlled private stock company with a fully paid-up share capital of 20,000,000 kroner, 500 kroner to the share. Its registered offices are in Christiania. Of the portion of the dividend falling to the Exchequer, 20 per cent. is for a public fund to meet the evils arising from drunkenness, and 80 per cent. goes to a public fund for the subsequent realization of a State insurance scheme for aged people and invalids.

The Storthing on March 16 overwhelmingly rejected the Radical Party's proposal that the law for compulsory arbitration of labor disputes be continued after April 1, the date of its expiration. Wage agreements in the leading industries expired the same day. The employers on March 29 proposed a 10 to 20 per cent. wage reduction, which the labor leaders declared absolutely unacceptable, and serious labor conflicts seemed inevitable.

PALESTINE

Reports from Jerusalem, dated March 12, stated that the first stages of the Palestine elections had passed without any untoward incident. The number of nominations of secondary electors was 246, of whom Moslems were responsible for 126, Jews for 90, Christians for 22 and Druses

for 8. These figures showed that the Arab boycott had been successful, since the Moslems should normally have returned about 700 nominators. So small and unrepresentative were the Arab returns that the possibility of electing members of the Legislative Assembly was considered doubtful.

Sir Herbert Samuel, the High Commissioner, on March 25 refused to release the Arabs arrested in a demonstration held on March 14 to celebrate the success of the Arab boycott of the Legislative Council elections. He also rejected the demand that the Jerusalem Chief of Police be placed on trial for causing their arrest, and warned the Arab executive that unless they cooperated in the maintenance of order he "would not be responsible for developments."

The seriously disturbed condition of Palestine was emphasized on April 4, when, during an Arab celebration of "Nabi Moussa" (the Prophet Moses), marchers in the procession shouted "Palestine is our own country," "Down with Zionism!" and "Long live Mustapha." On the other hand, great indignation was reported among the Jews because they had, as a precautionary measure during the Arab celebration, been denied the age-long privilege of approaching the "wailing wall" for prayer during the Passover.

In conformity with the British Government's policy of reducing the garrison in Palestine, an announcement was made of the early departure of the Fifteenth Mahratta Light Infantry for India.

PANAMA CANAL ZONE

Admiral Hilary P. Jones on March 20 summed up the results of the naval manoeuvres at the Panama Canal for Secretary Denby as showing that an enemy force could land in Culebra Bay, Costa Rica, north of the Pacific entrance to the Canal, establish an aircraft base there and send bombing planes to the Atlantic end of the Canal. A point in Panama Bay was also found from which an enemy fleet, once in control of the sea and air, would be able to attack with impunity the Miraflores locks and fortifications guarding the Balboa end of the Canal. A fleet stationed at this point would lie beyond the range of the coastal fortifications. Admiral Jones says the defect can be corrected by placing heavy guns on Toboga Island, in Panama Bay, nine miles beyond the coast. He also recommends strengthening the air forces of the Canal.

Secretary Denby was accompanied by a party of Congressmen, who watched the manoeuvres which took place during March. In addition to these, the old battleship Iowa, Admiral Evans's ship at Santiago during the war with Spain, was sunk on March 22 by shellfire from the Mississippi in target practice at six miles distance, the Iowa being directed by wireless.

Captain A. W. Hinds, former Commander of the battleship New York, was appointed temporary assistant to Governor Morrow of the Canal Zone from April 15. Albert C. Hindman, District Attorney of the Canal Zone, died on March 6 as the result of an automobile accident.

New records of traffic are constantly being made on the Panama Canal. General George W. Goethals, builder of the Canal, answering inquiries, on April 10, said that judging from the tonnage using the Canal a new one of at least equal capacity would be necessary in about thirty years.

PERSIA

Announcement was made at Teheran on Feb. 15 of the formation of a new Cabinet by Mustowfi el Mamalek as follows:

MUSTOWFI EL MAMALEK, Prime Minister and Minister of Interior.

SARDAR SEPAH (REZA KHAN), Minister of War.

NASR EL MOLK, Minister of Finance.

ZOKA EL MOLK, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

MONTAZ EL MOLK, Minister of Justice.

MOHTASHEM ES SALTANEH, Minister of Education.

All the Ministers, with the exception of Sardar Sepah, had no previous experience of the duties of their offices. The rise and rapid development of the Radical Party, consisting of members of the younger generation, who aim at reforms along constructive lines, is regarded as an important feature of the new political situation.

PERU

The general outlook of business has greatly improved since the end of the general strike of last February, as is shown by the substantial rise in the Peruvian pound. The increase in price of Peruvian products has played a part in this result. The cotton and sugar industries have pulled through the crisis without losses. As the custom duties are paid on a scale based on the market value of the exports, the Government will immediately benefit by the improvement in conditions.

Peru is completing its argument to present the Peruvian side before the arbiter, the President of the United States, on the controversy with Chile over the final award of the provinces of Tacna and Arica.

Dr. Augusto Durand, owner of the newspaper *La Prensa*, and noted revolutionist during the last twenty years, died on April 2 on board a Government ship that was carrying him to Callao as a prisoner. Dr. Durand took a prominent part in the overthrow of President Billinghurst, but one of his confederates, Colonel Benavides, reaped the

fruit of the coup. When President Leguia ousted President Pardo, Durand again became an exile; and his newspaper was first suppressed and then changed into an official organ.

PHILIPPINES

Immediate or future independence of the Philippines, as well as their incorporation as a Territory, to become later a State, are opposed by Vicente Villamin, a well-known Filipino leader residing in the United States, who considers complete local autonomy under the sovereignty of the United States the best solution of the Philippine problem. He argues that independence or removal of American protection by placing production on a competitive basis would lower the living standard to the level of surrounding countries, which are less advanced but more productive. There are only 10,000,000 Filipinos, as against over 100,000,000 cheap laborers surrounding them.

Plans to force rubber growing in the Philippines as a source of supply for the United States are not taken very seriously in England, which controls nearly all the rubber of the world. The British scheme for restricting Malay rubber production was criticised in the House of Commons on March 12 as tending to force America to try rubber growing in the Philippines. Winston Churchill maintains that such restriction would help Britain pay her debt to America in the higher price American consumers would have to pay for rubber.

A fund of \$1,000,000 for educational work among the Moros, the only Mohammedans under the American flag, is sought to start a girls' school to parallel the Willard Straight Agricultural School at Jolo.

Notice was served on the Philippine Supreme Court on March 14 by the Russian Soviet Government that it intended to institute proceedings to obtain possession of the eleven Russian ships which brought refugees from Vladivostok and are laid up at Mariveles quarantine station.

POLAND

The eastern and northern frontiers of Poland, which had been in process of adjudication since the Paris Peace Conference, were formally laid down, March 14, by the allied Council of Ambassadors, validating Poland's Vilna and Eastern Galicia claims. This action gave official recognition by the allied Powers to the borders already outlined. To avoid formal approval of a treaty signed by the Russian Government, which they do not recognize, the Council of Ambassadors drafted an allied line which happened to coincide with the line between Poland and Russia laid down by the Treaty of Riga in 1921, and ap-

proved the same. It then approved the line between Poland and Lithuania drawn the month before by the League of Nations, giving the city of Vilna to Poland. The Ambassadors left the boundary dispute between Poland and Czechoslovakia for consideration at a later date. Recognition of the boundary of Eastern Galicia was particularly satisfactory to the Poles, though represented by the Soviet Government and by a considerable element of the Ukrainians. The Council refused a request for postponement of their decision to enable Mr. Bainbridge Colby, formerly the American Secretary of State, to present an argument on behalf of Ukrainia.

On the day of the decision the Foreign Minister, Count Skrzynski, went to Paris with instructions to declare categorically that there was no longer any Galician boundary question. In London he told Lord Curzon that Poland would treat with infinite patience the Lithuanian protest against the Vilna decision, and that the Polish Diet had already passed a statute giving a large measure of autonomy to East Galicia, which would also be given a university and educational advantages.

The United States on April 7 officially recognized the boundaries laid down by the Council of Ambassadors. The Polish press featured the Washington Government's action, and devoted to it much enthusiastic and grateful comment.

A great mass meeting in Warsaw, April 5, attended by 100,000 persons, expressed the excitement and resentment aroused in Poland by the Soviet Government's execution of Mgr. Budkiewicz and the imprisonment of other Catholic prelates. Later a mob rioted in the Jewish quarter, looting homes and stores for several hours, and maiming hundreds of persons, before the police could suppress the disturbers. The Government made no statement, considering a protest out of question, as the prelate was a Russian subject. It had protested beforehand against the execution "in the name of humanity." By April 7 the military authorities had under control the great wave of nationalism that swept over Poland following these anti-Soviet demonstrations, and the Jewish and Russian quarters of Warsaw were heavily patrolled.

The Polish Diet ratified a thirty-year petroleum agreement with Italy, March 23, embodying a "most favored nation" clause. * * * The Government submitted an advisory case to the Permanent World Court of Justice, March 10, for adjudication at its June 15 session. The case involved the question of the number of Germans in Poland belonging to the German minority whose nationality has been made Polish under the Versailles Treaty. * * * Transplantation of German industries from Silesia to Thuringia was making enormous progress the first week in April. * * * The Bank of Poland's note circulation amounted to 229,000,000 marks at

the beginning of 1922, while the Government owed the bank 221,000,000,000 marks. At the end of the same year the note issue had increased 500,000,000,000 marks, and the State debt by 360,000,000,000 marks.

PORTE RICO

Horace Mann Towner of Iowa was inaugurated as Porto Rico's eighth American civil Governor, succeeding E. Mont Reily, in San Juan on April 6. Secretary Denby and the Congressional party from the naval manoeuvres at the Panama Canal were among the spectators. Governor Towner in his address referred to Porto Rico as being a permanent part of the United States, but said this did not mean that Porto Ricans should lose their love for, or relinquish their pride in, their beautiful island home. His statement that the head of the Government "may lead but should not coerce, may advise but should not impose policies," was applauded. Mr. Towner, who was Chairman of the House Committee on Insular Affairs, had previously been in Porto Rico several times, and is thoroughly acquainted with affairs in the island.

Salvador Mestre, Attorney General of Porto Rico, resigned on March 23 and Herbert P. Coates, formerly a New York State Senator, was appointed to succeed him and arrived in the island with Governor Towner.

Former Governor Reily left Porto Rico on March 28, and on arriving at Galveston, Tex., announced his intention of challenging his editorial critics to debate, claiming that he had been the victim of malicious persecution because he had tried to Americanize Porto Rico.

Porto Ricans are expected to appeal to the Supreme Court against a ruling made by the War Department enforcing prohibition in the island, while the Philippines are permitted to remain "wet."

PORTEUGAL

The Ministry of Antonio de Silva faced a crisis on March 22, when M. Rodrigues, Minister of the Colonies, handed in his resignation, following the vote of the Chamber on motions disapproving his policy in the question of the relations of the colony of Mozambique with the South African Union, and also because of a strike of the employees in his offices. The Ministers of Public Instruction and of Labor ranged themselves with their colleagues and presented their resignations. It was feared that the partial crisis would become a total one.

The Portuguese Government on March 7 conferred the grade of Chevalier of the Portuguese Order of Torre e Espada (Tower and Sword) on the 107th Infantry Regiment, Twenty-seventh Di-

vision, New York National Guard, that being one of the American regiments that served nearest to the Portuguese forces on the Western front in the World War.

RUMANIA

A crowd led by deputies of the Opposition broke into the palace of Prince Stirbey, near Bucharest, on April 4, and began wrecking it, when the police arrived. In the fight that followed five persons were killed. This is only one incident in a number that have embittered the political controversies in Rumania between the Nationalists led by Bratiano and the minority parties. Opponents of the Government say that the minorities are deprived of their political rights under the new Constitution, and that it centralizes the powers of the Government oppressively. Catholics charge that it gives ascendancy to the Greek Orthodox Church. The Constitution was formally sanctioned by King Ferdinand on March 29, after passing both houses. It insures to all Rumanians, without distinction of race or religion, the same rights and liberties. It nationalizes the subsoil, which includes oil wells, and expropriates wooded lands for the creation of commercial forest preserves.

The Constitution also settles the rights of Rumanian Jews, giving them full citizenship, but has not abated the anti-Semitic movement in the universities or attacks on Jews throughout the country. A mob of students on March 26 besieged a Bucharest theatre where American Jewish actors—Jacob Kalich and Molly Picon—were performing, and the Government closed the theatre. Mobs wrecked the Jewish quarter of Jassy on April 2. The Government prohibited the holding of further anti-Semitic meetings in Jassy, and promised to investigate charges of negligence of the local police during the rioting.

RUSSIA

The most important event of the month in Russia was the ten days' trial of Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox priests and prelates, culminating in the execution on March 31 of Mgr. Constantine Budkiewicz, Vivar General of the Roman Catholic Church in Russia, after he and sixteen other priests, including the Catholic Metropolitan Archbishop Zepliak of Petrograd, had been convicted of "willfully opposing the Soviet Government." The execution in the Moscow prison by a firing squad was kept secret until April 3, when the *Pravda* and the *Izvestia* laconically announced it. Appeals from the outside world, from governmental, religious and other bodies in various countries, including governmental appeals from the United States and Great Britain, which poured in upon the

Soviet authorities had no effect in staying the hand of the executioners.

The charges against the priests, according to Moscow dispatches, began with resistance to the seizure of Church treasures by the Soviet Government to be sold for famine relief; but the prosecution held that this was a deliberate attempt to provoke action which would entitle the Catholics to call for the help of Poland. Archbishop Zepliak, whose death sentence was commuted to ten years' solitary confinement in prison, was also accused of having communicated with the Vatican, though, according to Polish accounts (both prelates being of Polish descent), he had a letter from Foreign Minister Tchitcherin authorizing such communication. The most serious charge against both prelates in the minds of the Judges and prosecutors was general hostility to the Soviet Government. Some priests were sentenced to long prison terms for celebrating mass, this being regarded as a deliberate attempt to provoke action which would entitle Catholics to call for the help of Poland, though the Polish-Russian Treaty of Riga guarantees the cultural and religious rights of Poles in Russia and of Russians in Poland.

Postponement of the trial of the Most Rev. Dr. Tikhon, former Orthodox Patriarch, it was stated on April 11, had been effected by widespread protests from outside powers. On April 12 a protest against the Soviet attack on religion was signed in London by the Church of England Archbishops, Cardinal Bourne, and all the religious bodies in England, including the Chief Rabbi. Easter was celebrated in Russian cities with virtually no disorder.

In respect to the illness of Premier Nikolai Lenin, Dr. von Struempell of Leipsic and Dr. Nonne of Hamburg, who attended M. Lenin ten days in Moscow, intimated when interviewed in Riga on their way back to Germany, that the Premier might die at any moment of incurable paralysis or linger indefinitely. He was carefully guarded, even the attending physicians being required to have a special permit for each visit, whether several visits were made a day or one.

In the April 11 issue of the Moscow *Pravda*, Leon Trotsky published a "thesis" on Russian industry, with the approval, according to the *Pravda*, of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party. This forecasts a shift from communism to a modified form of capitalism with participation of foreign capital in Russian industries.

That the attitude of the United States Government regarding recognition of the Soviet Government has undergone no change was made plain on March 21, when Secretary of State Hughes rejected the plea of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom for American recognition of the Soviet Government, contradicting their allegations on the Soviets' behalf

and declaring that the Soviets had not abandoned policies that involve repudiation of international obligations, confiscation of property and revolutionary activities subversive of other Governments. The State Department on April 12 refused admission to the United States of Mme. Ekaterina Kalinin, wife of Michael Ivanovitch Kalinin, President of the Soviet Central Executive Committee.

SANTO DOMINGO

Withdrawal of United States troops from Santo Domingo has been delayed by political differences over the electoral law, which prevents the holding of Congressional elections. Sumner Welles, the American Commissioner, arrived in the island on April 2 to straighten out the matter.

The Dominicans are planning the erection of a powerful lighthouse as a memorial to Christopher Columbus, and the project has been furthered by a special representative of Santo Domingo at the Pan-American conference, Tullio M. Cestero, author and diplomatist.

SOUTH AFRICA

The by-election at Oudtshoorn on March 9 resulted in a Government majority of 115 becoming a Nationalist majority of 527. The defeat was attributed to inefficient Government organization in the Cape constituencies, although discontent within the Government Party had developed chiefly because of the failure to carry out promises to encourage industries.

A notable African figure passed away at sea on Feb. 21 in the person of King Khama, aged 95. He was Chief of the Damagwato in Bechuanaland. The son of a witch doctor, he became a Christian, repudiated witchcraft and polygamy, and set his face against alcoholic liquor to the extent of exiling white dealers from his territory. He ruled over 35,000 subjects, and, according to Sir Frederick Lugard, was the greatest African of his time.

SPAIN

On April 2, the Spanish Government decided on plans for a civil government protectorate in Spanish Morocco, with the support of powerful military forces against eventualities.

A strong protest, encouraged in professional and mercantile classes throughout the country, was raised by the new taxes imposed by Parliament to meet the unsatisfactory financial situation. It transpired on March 21 that in 1914 the national expenditure was 1,438,000,000 pesetas, and for 1923 it had risen to 3,044,000,000 pesetas. Thus the expenditure had increased by 1,606,000,000 pesetas, while the revenue had increased by

only 1,097,000,000 pesetas. (Nominally a peseta equals a franc, or 19.3 cents.)

The three main causes of this increased expenditure have been: Increase in salaries of military and civil officials to meet the rise in the cost of living caused by the World War, the war in Morocco, and State intervention, chiefly with railroad subsidies, in the economic life of the country.

SUDAN

Approval by the Sudan Government of the budget for 1923-24 as balanced at 3,465,000 Egyptian pounds (£1=\$4.99), was announced on March 23. It was pointed out that the revenue figure was exactly eight times the estimate of twenty years ago, when a contribution from Egypt was required to obtain a balance. Due to stringent economy the budget was £E415,000 less than in the previous year. The fall in revenue was attributed to general depression of trade, mainly railway earnings, which were expected to decrease £E400,000, compared with 1922-23.

SWEDEN

The resignation, April 6, of the Government headed by Hjalmar Branting, Premier and Foreign Minister, followed the Riksdag's rejection, the evening before, of the Government's proposal to distribute doles among the unemployed. The debate began on March 22. The Conservative Party opposed the Government bill to aid unemployment, alleging that such aid would strengthen the prolonged strike in the lumber and paper industries. The Labor Party rejected all compromise and the Ministry was called upon to insist that the bill be adopted without modification, or resign. Premier Branting's defense of the measure, and his threat that the Government would resign in case of its rejection, proved unavailing.

Before Ira Nelson Morris, the retiring American Minister to Sweden, sailed for the United States, April 3, he had donated 50,000 kronor for the benefit of Swedish sports, and had headed a committee of Americans resident in Sweden for raising a fund to finance the presentation to the City of Gothenberg of a bust of King Gustaf III., the first European monarch to recognize the independence of the American Colonies.

The heavy increase of travel between Sweden and the United States was evidenced March 19 by the chartering of an extra liner from Holland by the Swedish-American Line, pending completion of the house's third liner. Marked increase in emigration to the United States, especially of a superior kind, from all the Scandinavian countries was reported April 5 by the American Commissioner of Immigration, W. W. Husband.

SWITZERLAND

The Federal Government on March 14 heard the representatives of the three Cantons most interested in the question of free zones—Vaud, Valais, and Geneva—this question being in controversy between Switzerland and France, whose joint convention and new customs regulations had abolished the free zone of the Savoy district adjoining Switzerland. The Swiss Minister at Paris, acting under instructions from the Federal Council, on March 19 personally notified the French Government of a forthcoming note from the Council communicating the Swiss Nation's rejection of the free zones agreement of Aug. 7, 1921, and the consequent impossibility for the Federal Council to ratify this accord. The note expressed the hope that the dissolution of the agreement would have no ill effects on the multiple relations between the regions concerned in the two countries. The French Government replied, March 21, asking the Swiss Government to declare itself ready, with the least possible delay, to put in force the free zones agreement of Aug. 7, 1921, and stating that the Swiss Federal Council did not need the authority of a popular vote to ratify the agreement. The Swiss answer to this was that it was impossible for the Federal Council not to take cognizance of a decision of the Swiss Nation refusing to ratify this free zones agreement.

In pursuance of the plan for emigration of Swiss farmers to Canada, the Swiss Government, on March 29, appropriated 500,000 francs to assist the emigration of such unemployed workers, and to form them into farming colonies in Western Canada.

On April 8, it transpired that the movement to modernize the methods of the Swiss dairy industry was creating opportunity for the sale of American barn and dairy equipment to fill the demand caused by the necessary changes; also that the Swiss were turning to the United States to import American sea foods and fish products to take the place of the German supplies of these goods the exportation of which the German Government has prohibited.

TURKEY

Texts of Turkey's counterproposals to the draft of the treaty of Lausanne were received by the Foreign Offices of the allied Governments by the middle of March. The result of the Angora Assembly's deliberations had been made public March 6, as told in the section on "Turkey" in the April number of this magazine, which summarized the new proposals, chiefly economic, and the covering note defending the Turkish refusal to sign the Lausanne treaty.

A conference of allied representatives was called to consider Turkey's reply. This conference

opened in London on March 21, under the Chairmanship of Lord Curzon, after various allied committees had had time to examine the note in detail. Six days were given to study and discussion of the counterproposals and to the drafting of a reply, complete secrecy being aimed at throughout.

The following communiqué was issued:

"The allied representatives, under the Chairmanship of Lord Curzon, considered the reports of the expert committees on the financial, economic and other parts of the Turkish counterproposals. After examination and discussion a complete allied agreement was reached upon all points. Reports were approved, and the draft text of a reply to Ismet Pasha's note of March 8 was considered and passed, subject to the final approval of the respective Governments."

Approval being given by the respective Governments, identical notes were dispatched to the Angora Government, inviting the Turks to a resumption of the Lausanne conference. The text, which was issued by the British Foreign Office April 1, was characterized by a spirit of concession in the interest of peace. Surprise was expressed that Ismet should have reopened various questions which he had previously accepted as closed, and that he should have inserted among his counterproposals several articles raising new points. The Allies, nevertheless, expressed their readiness to discuss the various points raised in the Turkish note and the counterproposals attached to it, declaring, however, that such readiness was based on the distinct understanding that discussions should also be reopened on the economic clauses. The note made it clear that the Allies could not consent to the proposal that these clauses be detached from the treaty. The note excluded from the discussions to be resumed any new proposals involving substantial modification of territorial provisions already agreed upon, but offered to accept in principle Turkey's proposed redrafting of the convention relating to the judicial status of foreigners in Turkey, to meet, as far as might be considered practicable, Turkey's ideas of reciprocity.

The secretariat which the participating powers left at Lausanne at the breaking up of the conference announced on March 29 that negotiations between the Allies and Turkey would be resumed at Lausanne some time between April 15 and 20. The Angora Assembly, on April 1, voted in favor of immediate elections, so that the new Assembly would be ready to take up the treaty expected to be signed at Lausanne.

The Angora Government, on April 10, approved the Chester concession in Turkey, designed to include development of the Mosul oil region and construction of more than 1,000 miles of railways in the Mesopotamian fields. Negotiations for this concession were instituted by President Roosevelt, and in 1908 Rear Admiral Colby M. Chester, now

retired, was sent to Turkey to obtain for the United States certain valuable priority rights in the Turkish oil-producing region. The project from the beginning met with opposition from British, French and Russian interests, to which similar concessions had been allegedly promised. The Chester grant had the approval of the former Turkish Government, but action by the Nationalist Government at Angora had been long deferred.

Stirred by the confirmation of the Chester concessions, the French Government on April 11 sent the Angora Government a vigorous protest, on the ground that the Chester concessions included privileges granted to the French in 1914 in return for a large loan. Premier Poincaré's note further declared that by the terms of the Angora treaty France was given a concession for the construction of the Port of Samsun and of a railroad from Belu to Samsun, both made specific features of the Chester project in defiance of the French claims. The French protest declared the action of the Angora Assembly to be "a deliberately unfriendly act, of a nature to influence adversely the coming negotiations at Lausanne." It was learned that the French Government had protested Angora's anticipated approval of the American concessions just prior to their ratification, and that Turkey had replied that, inasmuch as France had paid only one-half of the 500,000,000-franc loan pledged in 1914, on consideration of special concessions, Turkey no longer felt herself bound by the bargain. France then replied that the second half of the loan had not been paid because Turkey had joined in the war against France. It was stated that M. Jusserand, French Ambassador at Washington, had been instructed to ascertain whether the Washington Government intended to back that part of the Chester concession in conflict with the French claims.

UNITED STATES

Secretary of State Hughes on March 20 made the following correction:

"In my speech at New Haven on December 29, 1922, I made the following statement with respect to alterations in the British capital ships: 'The result is that in a considerable number of British ships bulges have been fitted, elevation of turret guns increased and turret loading arrangements modified to conform to increased elevation.' In making this statement I relied upon specific information which had been furnished me by the Navy Department and which, of course, the Navy Department believed to be entirely trustworthy.

"The Department of State has been advised by the British Government categorically 'that no alteration has been made in the elevation of the

turret guns of any British capital ships since they were first placed in commission,' and, further, 'that no additional deck protection has been provided since Feb. 6, 1922, the date of the Washington Treaty.'

"It gives me pleasure to make this correction, as it is desired that there should be no public misapprehension."

OIL BOYCOTT ERROR

Another correction by Secretary Hughes was made public on March 25 when he gave out the text of an identical letter sent to the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Commerce and the Federal Trade Commission correcting statements contained in a communication to the Senate prepared by the State Department on May 17, 1920, in which it was said that American oil companies were expressly excluded from doing business in Burma by a proclamation signed by Queen Victoria in 1884.

The British Government has informed the Washington Government that this statement and another to the effect that a blanket concession for ninety-nine years was given to the Burma Oil Company, Ltd., on Aug. 23, 1885, are incorrect. The letter sent by the Secretary of State corrects the misapprehension, but states that Americans are prevented from prospecting for oil in India by regulations which limit prospecting or mining leases to British subjects or companies controlled by British subjects.

ANTI-POISON MASK

Perfection of a mask that will give protection against all poison gases, including carbon monoxide, was announced by Brig. Gen. Amos A. Fries, Chief of the Chemical Warfare Service of the United States Army, at the dinner given to the Council of the American Chemical Society by the New Haven Chamber of Commerce on April 2. The new mask—or what General Fries described as an "all-purpose canister"—has particular value for fire fighters and men engaged in fumigating ships or buildings. Firemen in particular will find it of great value in going into buildings where illuminating gas pipes may be leaking.

General Fries spoke more particularly of adaptation to peace-time uses of war time inventions by the Chemical Warfare Service. He said that 200 of these new masks had been given to the United States Public Health Service for its ship fumigating force.

SINKING THE IOWA

The famous old battleship Iowa, formerly the flagship of "Fighting Bob" Evans, had a dramatic ending on March 22 when it went to the bottom of Panama Bay under fire by the battleship Mississippi's heavy guns.

Surrounded by the superdreadnoughts Maryland, California, Pennsylvania and Arizona when the Mississippi's guns began their deadly work, the Iowa looked like a diminutive plaything of another age.

The Iowa resisted her fate with bulldog tenacity in the earlier attacks by the Mississippi, undertaken with thin-walled projectiles fitted with instantaneous fuses that exploded even when they struck the sea, but when orders were given to fire full charges and armor-piercing high explosive projectiles from the regular service magazine, the Iowa was dealt a death wound that sent her down within sixteen minutes from the time the opening gun was fired in that section of two attacks.

Secretary Denby ordered the Maryland's band to play "The Star-Spangled Banner" while the Iowa was dying, and its last strains floated over the placid Pacific just as the top of the Iowa's nose settled beneath the waves. While the Maryland's band played, the national salute of twenty-one guns was fired and 5,000 white-garbed officers and men manned the rails of the four superdreadnoughts encircling the spot where the Iowa went down.

PLANES FLY SIX THOUSAND MILES

The six airplanes that left San Antonio, Texas, early in March on a 6,000-mile flight to Porto Rico and thence to Washington landed at Bolling Field, Washington, on April 3, bringing to a successful conclusion one of the most remarkable pioneer flights ever attempted by the Army Air Service. Secretary Weeks extended the official welcome to the twelve pilots who made the trip and directed that citation be placed in their records crediting them properly with their achievement. Air Service officials said the flight negotiated by land planes over wide stretches of water and strange land areas, without accident and on schedule, showed the rôle aircraft can take in the scheme of national defense.

Secretary Weeks likened the flight to the expeditions of Lewis and Clarke in opening up the Pacific, declaring the aviators had established "a route to Porto Rico and the Caribbean."

DRY LAW IN PORTO RICO

Under a ruling by the local authorities of the War Department, approved by the Attorney General and made public on March 15, Porto Rico remains on the same footing as the Continental United States so far as liquor is concerned, despite the fact that the Philippines are "wide open."

Appeals from the decision to the Supreme Court of the United States are expected, but Washington officials are confident that they will be upheld by the Federal Court notwithstanding

that the ruling is without known precedent. The ruling makes available for the trial of cases growing out of violation of the prohibition law all the machinery of both the local and Federal courts of Porto Rico.

IMMIGRANT QUOTAS FILLED

More than three-fourths of the countries from which immigrants are entering the United States already have reached the full limit for the fiscal year ending with June, and it is estimated that the Spring inflow from the few countries which have not filled their quotas will bring the arrivals in the year up to nearly or quite the 358,000 permitted under the law of May 19, 1921. The law limits the number that may be admitted to 3 per cent. of the respective nationalities resident in the United States in 1910.

The principal countries which had not completely filled their quotas in the first seven months of the current fiscal year were Germany, Great Britain, Russia, Sweden, France and Austria. As all of these countries except Germany had sent more than seven-twelfths of the possible total, it is likely that the usual Spring movement will completely fill their respective quotas. In the case of Germany, arrivals in this period were 21,500 out of a possible 67,600.

MINIMUM WAGE LAW VOID

The law passed by Congress fixing the minimum wage for women and minor girls in the District of Columbia was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court on April 9. The decision is regarded as one of the most important the court has ever rendered, forming a nation-wide precedent, for minimum wage laws are in effect in more than a dozen States, six of which, New York, Kansas, California, Oregon, Wisconsin and Washington, got permission to intervene in the case as friends of the court. No less than 12,500 women and girls in the District of Columbia are directly affected by the ruling.

Associate Justice Sutherland, who delivered the opinion of the court, took the ground that the law interfered with the liberty of contract guaranteed under the Constitution, and was also discriminatory, in that it favored women, who, the opinion stated, were today fully as able to make contracts as men.

Chief Justice Taft submitted a dissenting opinion, in which he held that it was not the function of the Supreme Court to hold a Congressional act invalid merely because these statutes carried out economic views which the court considered unsound. Associate Justice Sanford agreed with Mr. Taft in this dissent. Another dissenting opinion was delivered by Associate Justice Holmes.

INCREASE IN STEEL WAGES

The United States Steel Corporation, the largest single factor in the steel industry of the country, announced on April 9 an increase of 11 per cent. in the wages of all workers in its manufacturing plants. The advance, which took effect on April 16, affects approximately 150,000 workers.

The increase was immediately met by the Republic Iron and Steel Company and the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation, and it is expected that the action of the Steel Corporation presages a general upward movement of wages throughout the industry.

EX-PRESIDENT WILSON FAVORS WORLD COURT

Ex-President Wilson, replying to an inquiry addressed to him by Representative Arthur B. Rouse of Kentucky, Chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, as to whether he favored conditional or unconditional adhesion to the World Court, wrote the following letter, which was made public on April 14:

"My Dear Mr. Rouse: In reply to your letter of March 29, let me say that I approve not of the 'conditional' but of the unconditional adhesion of the United States to the World Court set up under the auspices of the League of Nations, though I think it would be more consistent with the fame of the United States for candor and courage to become a member of the League of Nations and share with the other members the full responsibilities which its covenant involves. Respectfully yours, WOODROW WILSON."

VENEZUELA

At the suggestion of King Alfonso of Spain, who on being offered a statue in Madrid, purchased by subscription among the peoples of Spanish America, answered with the proposal that the monument be dedicated to Bolivar, the Government of Venezuela has invited the artists of Spain and the five republics of "Great Colombia" to compete in the project for the erection of a statue and monument to the Liberator in Madrid.

Venezuela is an ideal country for the exploitation of rubber plantations, according to the President of the Venezuela Trading Company of Ciudad Bolivar, who adds that the million of acres by the River Orinoco are already growing rubber and similar trees. The climate is similar to that of the Islands of Borneo and Sumatra, and food and water are plentiful.

In La Guayra, the last stop in her tour through South America, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, presiding officer of the Pan-American Association of Women, declared that suffragism is still a purely academic affair in South America, but that women in Brazil are organizing.